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THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., K.C.M.G.

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.,
P.C., K.C.M.G.

The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., K.C.M.G.

Edited by

E. M. SAUNDERS, D.D.

With an Introduction by

THE RT. HON. SIR R. L. BORDEN, G.C.M.G.

Eight Photogravure Plates

VOL. I.

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VOL. I

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INTRODUCTION

By the Rt. Hon. Sir R. L. BORDEN, K.C.M.G.

FOR Canadians the life of Sir Charles Tupper needs no introduction. His career as a public man is indissolubly associated with the history of Canada since Confederation.

He entered public life at the age of thirty-four in his native province of Nova Scotia, and during the twelve years which ensued before Confederation, his public record gave abundant evidence of the magnificent courage, the fine optimism and the breadth of vision which invariably characterised him in the wider arena in which he was destined to play so distinguished a part. When he entered the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1855 his party was in opposition. Under the inspiration of his virtual though not nominal leadership, it came into power two years later; and, although defeated in 1859, he became Premier in 1863 with a large majority behind him.

Religious controversy was not unknown in Nova Scotia in those days, although happily no province in Canada is more entirely free from such dissensions at present. To this happy result the influence of Sir Charles Tupper contributed in no small measure.

In the field of constructive statesmanship Sir Charles Tupper directed his energies to two great questions. Clearly realising that railways were the modern highways of commerce, he advocated an advanced policy of railway construction. In this respect he foreshadowed the memorable part he was destined to take in the construction of a national highway that should bind together the scat-

tered provinces and territories of the Greater Canada that was to be. He realised also the necessity of better opportunity for education among the people. The facilities for higher education in Nova Scotia were excellent, but there was no system of public schools. There was, of course, an ignorant impatience of the taxation which his proposals involved, but the courage which never failed him carried through the measure, against which in a few years no voice of protest was heard.

Men had been dreaming for years of a nation on the northern half of this Continent which would embrace all the British Possessions. The proposal appealed to Tupper's imagination, and, as a preliminary step, he moved and carried in the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1864 a resolution favouring the union of the three Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, as a prelude to a still greater union. This action acted as a spur to the activities of the Upper Province statesmen. The Maritime Province meeting was to be held at Charlottetown on September 1, 1864. The Upper Province representatives asked to be admitted to the Conference. They were cordially welcomed; and after frank discussion of the subject, the Conference was adjourned to October 10 at Quebec, where the basis was laid for the subsequent Confederation.

In that Conference Tupper played a great part, and considering the difficulties which arose in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, as well as the tremendous opposition which developed in Nova Scotia under the eloquent leadership of Howe, it is not too much to say that if he had been a man of less invincible courage and determination, the project of Confederation might have been postponed for many years.

For the sake of allaying political difficulties which Sir John A. Macdonald had encountered in forming the first Government of the new Dominion, Tupper insisted that

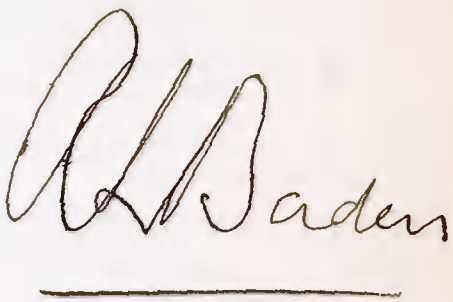
his own just claims should not be considered, and he served for three years as a Member of Parliament without office. But from 1870 until he became High Commissioner in 1884 he held many important portfolios, notably those of Finance and Public Works and Railways.

His record as a statesman will always be closely associated with two great policies. The advocacy of the National Policy by Macdonald from 1876 to 1878 was largely due to Tupper's influence and inspiration. When the Liberal-Conservative Cabinet was being formed after the elections of 1878, it was anticipated that Tupper would assume the portfolio of Finance and bring down to Parliament the measure in which the National Policy was to be embodied. He chose, however, the Department of Public Works, to which the Ministry of Railways and Canals was attached, and in 1882 he initiated the proposals for building the Canadian Pacific Railway. Many men of remarkable ability and vision contributed to the achievement of that great enterprise. To none is due a greater meed of praise than to Tupper. For many years his prophecies of enormous development and production in the western territories of Canada were derided, and he was subjected to attack of a bitterness unequalled even in those days of fierce controversy. Happily for him, and fortunately for his country, he lived to see every prophecy more than doubly fulfilled.

After his retirement from public life in 1900, he followed with absorbing interest the advancement and development of Canada, and he watched with the keenest attention and comprehension every turn and phase of public affairs. Succeeding him in the leadership of the Liberal-Conservative Party, I had the good fortune to receive from him occasional counsel and suggestion which was always wise and timely. I saw him for the last time in August, 1915. He had lived to see the Empire united in a great struggle for its own preservation and for the liberties of the world. In that struggle

he had seen Canada play the notable part which he would have willed, marching with proud and firm footsteps to the majestic fulfilment of a great destiny. Physically he was exceedingly weak, but I had never known his mind more keen and active. Every phase of the war, every detail of Canada's part therein, he had watched with passionate interest, and he spoke of the consolidation of our Empire as an accomplished fact.

Later I stood by the grave in which he was laid to rest, in a quiet churchyard near the city where his public career had begun sixty years before. As I write these lines I look out upon the Hill where a new Parliament House is rising from the ruins of that historic pile in which the splendid activities of his wider career made him for many years a conspicuous and distinguished figure. Upon that Hill there will yet be raised a stately monument to commemorate his public achievements; but no monument can be more stately or more enduring than that which will be found in the hearts of all Canadians who have just appreciation of the genius, the courage, the faith and the patriotism of Sir Charles Tupper.



CONTENTS—VOL. I

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	Early Life (1821—43)	1
2.	Beginning of Political Career (1844—55)	29
3.	Politics in Nova Scotia (1856—57)	47
4.	Defender of the Constitution (1858—61)	58
5.	Conservatives Returned to Power in Nova Scotia (1860—63)	79
6.	Union Conferences (1864)	98
7.	Origin of Anti-Confederation (1864—66)	110
8.	Anti-Confederation in England (1866)	127
9.	British North America Act (1866—67)	138
10.	The First Confederation Government (1867—68)	150
11.	The Repeal Movement in England (1868)	160
12.	Collapse of the Repeal Movement (1868—69)	183
13.	Dr. Tupper as President of the Council (1869—71)	197
14.	Defeat of the Conservatives (1872—74)	217
15.	Dr. Tupper as Budget Critic and Leader (1874—77)	236
16.	Conservatives Again in Power (1878—79)	255
17.	Conservative Fiscal and Railway Policies (1879—80)	273
18.	Significant By-Elections and a Visit to the West (1881)	300

LIST OF PLATES

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART., P.C., K.C.M.G. . . . . *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AS A YOUNG MAN . . . 16

REV. CHARLES TUPPER, D.D. 160

LADY TUPPER WITH HER DAUGHTER EMMA . . . 272

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF SIR CHARLES TUPPER, BART.

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE (1821—43)

THE Right Honourable Sir Charles Tupper, Baronet, was a descendant of Thomas Tupper, who emigrated from Sandwich, England, to America in 1635, and became one of the founders of Sandwich on Cape Cod (now called Lynn), April 3, 1637. From Thomas we come to Eliakim Tupper, born June 20, 1711, who married Mary Bassett on March 28, 1734. Their youngest child, born August 19, 1748, was Charles Tupper, father of the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D. The family came from Connecticut to Cornwallis, Nova Scotia, in 1763. Eliakim Tupper was one of a number who took possession of lands vacated by the Acadians who were deported in 1755. These lands were granted to immigrants by the Government of Nova Scotia.

The mother of the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was Elizabeth West, born at Martha's Vineyard, February 9, 1754. Her parents, William and Jane West, came to Cornwallis, N.S., in 1763. Elizabeth West and Charles Tupper were married October 24, 1771. They had ten sons and four daughters. The Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D., was the twelfth child. He was born in the township of Cornwallis, August 6, 1794. He entered the Baptist ministry, and on December 3, 1818, was married to Miriam Lowe, widow of Mr. John Lowe, and daughter of Mr. James Lockhart.

She was born in Parrsborough, N.S., January 16, 1780, and died July 4, 1851.

The Rev. Dr. Tupper removed from River Phillip, Cumberland County, where he had been settled as pastor of the Baptist Church, to Amherst, March 31, 1821. He had three sons. One died in early childhood, and the others were Charles and Nathan. The former was born at Amherst, July 2, 1821. The Rev. Dr. Tupper was pastor of the Baptist Church for a short time in the city of St. John, New Brunswick. On account of ill-health, he returned to Amherst on October 1, 1826.

The Rev. Dr. Cramp, President of Acadia University, on the death of Dr. Tupper, said:

"He was especially gifted for his work by his knowledge of languages. His diary for December 22, 1859, contains the following entry: 'Finished the perusal of Luther's German version of the Bible. I have now perused the whole of the sacred volume in eight languages; these are Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German and English, besides the New Testament in Spanish and Portuguese.' His expository notes on the Syriac version were published many years ago, and were highly praised."

Of his father, Sir Charles Tupper wrote in his journal:

"My father received the degree of D.D. from Acadia College, N.S., and no man took a more active part than he in the promotion of temperance in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. After a life of devotion to his ministerial and educational duties in those Provinces, he died on the 19th of January, 1881."

Of his early life, Sir Charles recorded:

"I have no recollection of being taught to read, but distinctly remember sitting on a table and teaching the alphabet to my brother Nathan, two years younger than myself. I do not remember when I commenced the study of Latin, but when I was seven years old I had read the

whole Bible aloud to my father. When my father returned home from his missionary work in the adjoining provinces, he used to give me a halfpenny for every page I had learned to translate in the Latin reader during his absence. When I was but ten years old I learned in one day twenty-four rules in Ruddiman's 'Rudiments of the Latin Language,' and recited them with all the examples without any cessation to Jonathan McCully, to whom I was then going to school. Samuel White was studying with me when I was kept from school by illness for a week. When I returned I found he had got through the rules, and to overtake him I, that night and the next morning, committed the whole to memory, and recited them without sitting down. Mr. McCully, who opposed me strongly at my first election, and for several years after, subsequently joined me in supporting Confederation, and I had the pleasure of nominating him first as a senator, and afterwards as a judge of the Supreme Court for Nova Scotia.

"In May, 1833, my father removed to Bedeque, Prince Edward Island, and became pastor of the Baptist Church there and at Tryon for a year. We lived during the summer in the Bedeque House, near a wide stream called Wilmot Creek.

"I found under the bank, not far from our house, a portion of a large log which had been so burned as to leave it hollowed out like a boat, and with my little brother, Nathan, pretended to fit it out for a voyage with a mast and a small sail. I was the captain and sat at the stern with a paddle to propel the ship, while my brother, with a small pole, ten feet long, was to direct the course from the bow. In this way we proceeded, sheltered by the bank from the observation of those at the house. When endeavouring to turn so as to go back to the starting-point, the wind caught the sail and was rapidly carrying us across the river. As Nathan, being only ten years old, could not turn the head of our ship around, I went to his aid, when

the hollow log promptly turned over. As I went down I grasped my arms over the bottom of the log, and Nathan succeeded in sticking his fingers in the rotten bark; but he presently said: 'I can't hold on any longer,' when I made a supreme effort and got astride the log and drew my brother upon it. Providentially, the pole was within reach, having stuck in the mud when Nathan was thrown into the water. I seized it and, pushing first on one side and then on the other, we got safely to the shore. We then took off our clothes and dried them in the sun and wind until we could venture home without alarming our mother.

"In May, 1834, we removed back to Amherst, where my father had a small farm of twelve acres, and a house built the year I was born. I was then sent to the Grammar School, taught by Mr. McQueen, at Amherst Corner.

"Having a strong desire to become a physician, at the age of fifteen and a half years I commenced the study of medicine with Dr. Benjamin Page at Amherst. I had, from the time I left the Grammar School, continued the study of Latin, and, anxious that my education should be continued, he made arrangements to send me to the Baptist Academy at Horton, where the Rev. John Pryor was principal. I commenced my studies there on August 12, 1837, or forty-one days after I had entered my sixteenth year. As Dr. Pryor told me there was no class commencing Greek or French, I began the study of those languages under Mr. Charles Randall, upon whose report I soon joined the class reading the Greek New Testament, and in six months I was transferred to the class reading Homer, which had been studying Greek for three years. I was soon able to read French, and was fond of Latin and Greek, but had no taste for arithmetic. Being puzzled over a sum in compound fractions, I asked Dr. Pryor's assistance. After he had worked at it for some time, he rubbed all his figures out and told me to go to my seat and work it out. I saw that he could not do it, and threw the book into my desk

and did not look into it again while at the academy, concluding that it was unnecessary for me to know more of simple arithmetic than the principal. I had a narrow escape from drowning while at Horton, but was saved by Pat Hockney, a fellow student, who taught me to swim. In the summer of 1838 I went to Amherst during the holidays."

For one year, beginning July, 1834, the Rev. Dr. Tupper was principal of the Grammar School at Amherst, during which time he discharged the duties of a minister of the Gospel to the church in that place. On July 14, 1838, he was called to the principalship of the Academy at Fredericton, New Brunswick, for one year, to take the place of the principal who was absent on a visit to England. At the end of the year he returned to Amherst.

Sir Charles's journal continues :

"I also went to Prince Edward Island from Tignish in an open sailboat with Mr. Thompson Brondige. We left the island to return on a fine afternoon, sailing from Bedeque with a fair wind. When about half-way across the wind veered round ahead, and we were obliged to beat. The night became dark, and we found, near midnight, our boat bumping on the shoals off Cape Tormentine, more than a mile from the shore. I was requested to row, and we succeeded in getting the boat around, and ran out again into the gulf. My fears were not allayed by seeing through the darkness Mr. Brondige taking off his boots. We succeeded in doubling the Cape, and at three o'clock in the morning were safe at Tignish.

"I resumed my studies at Horton. During my stay at Horton Academy I spent my Christmas holidays, and often from Saturday to Monday, at my Uncle Nathan Tupper's, at Lakeville, Cornwallis, to whose unvarying kindness and assistance I was largely indebted in obtaining my profession. He was mainly instrumental in sending me to Edinburgh.

"In 1838, while riding from New Brunswick over to Amherst, I met on my way the Rev. Mr. Busby, a Wesleyan minister, who handed me a letter from his brother-in-law, Dr. Harding, of Windsor, N.S., offering to take me as a medical student, which offer I accepted.

"I spent a happy year residing with Dr. Harding, where I received medical instruction. While there, Mr. Valentine, a portrait painter in oils, came to Windsor to paint the portrait of Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick). He also painted Dr. and Mrs. Harding, and then a small portrait of me. [Plate facing p. 16.]

"I was present when Drs. Harding and Pyke amputated the leg of Noel, an Indian at Newport, above the knee, and I was allowed to take the leg. Shortly afterwards, several Indians came and demanded it, saying that if it was not buried in consecrated ground, at the resurrection Noel would still be a cripple with only one leg. I promised them that that should be done, and after my dissection was finished I put the remains in a small box, which I took under my cloak on a dark night and buried them in the Roman Catholic graveyard. I also attended a Micmac squaw in her confinement in an Indian camp near Windsor. Having carefully followed Dr. Harding's directions, all went well.

"I visited my parents at Amherst, said good-bye to them and the other members of the family, and then sailed from Windsor (for Scotland) in the brigantine *Huntington,* 156 tons, built by Mr. Goudge at Windsor. We had to call at St. John, where I dined at Dr. Bayard's (son of Colonel Samuel Vetch Bayard, an intimate friend of the Duke of Kent), the leading physician of that place. We then went on board, and the sailors and mate just shipped—the former of whom were drunk—were brought on board. I was the only cabin passenger; there was one steerage passenger, and the captain, mate, and three seamen completed the crew.

"The mate, Mr. Brown, notwithstanding my request, persisted in smoking in the cabin, and as I was very sea-sick I spoke to the captain, who told him he must not do so. From that time, when I was on deck, the mate was generally to the windward, smoking in my face. Our vessel was loaded with deals, with a deckload even with the top of the rails, except a small space just below the wheel. When we were crossing with a ten-knot breeze the Grand Banks of Newfoundland one Sunday morning, I was sitting on the planks in this space by the wheel reading the Bible, when the mate sat down to the windward, smoking. I said: 'Mr. Brown, I expected in the mate of this vessel to find a gentleman, and requested you not to smoke in my face. I tell you now, I will not permit it.' He screwed up his nose in contempt, and said: 'Won't you?' In an instant I smashed the bowl of his pipe against his jaws into a dozen pieces with a blow of my fist. He sprang on me like a tiger and clinched me. He was a much heavier man than I, but I brought into requisition the hip-lock taught me by Pat Hockney at Horton Academy, and brought him down on his head and shoulders under me; but as we were at the edge of the top rail of the deck, and the slightest movement would send us both overboard, I rolled over, which brought Brown on top. With my left arm around his neck, I pinned his face to the deck, and with my right fist paid attention to his ribs. Anderson, a strong Swede, who was steering, left the wheel and, seizing the collars of our coats, dragged us, as we were, on to the centre of the deck. The sail filled aback, and the vessel was running backwards when the captain rushed on deck. The mate went to his bunk, which he only left on the third day after. The captain said I had done quite right, and Mr. Brown gave me a wide berth from that time.

"We lay to for three days in a gale of wind. It was magnificent. We would ascend until we were like a bird

on the sharp top of a mountain peak, and then descend until we were like a fly in the bottom of a teacup. On the fortieth day from St. John we reached Lough Foyle, now known as Moville. The pilot-boat brought counter-orders for the brigantine to go to Lough Swilly, and I, who had been seasick for the whole forty days, left in the pilot-boat, which landed me at a round tower in the sand, then called McGillon Castle, where I awaited for four hours the steamer from Londonderry to Glasgow. I innocently asked the pilots, when rowing me ashore, whether the people in that part of the country were mostly Protestants or Catholics. A fierce-looking man replied: 'Thank God, there are ten Catholics to one Protestant, or you would see nothing but broken skulls and tufts of hair flying about!' I did not pursue the conversation.

"While I was waiting at McGillon Castle, a good-looking lady was drawn up to the door in a nice Irish jaunting-car, and served with a glass of Irish whisky, which, to my astonishment, she drank off neat without making a wry face. Several other persons were served with whisky, when suddenly there was a great commotion, evidently the result of some wireless telegraphy which had escaped my notice, and directly two revenue officers appeared and searched the premises without being able to discover a drop. I went on board the steamer from Londonderry, and landed in Glasgow the next day in time to catch the three-horse coach, which carried me to a hotel in Princes Street, Edinburgh, at eleven o'clock that evening. I stayed at Gibbs' Hotel, Princes Street. I was much impressed with the lights in the back of the house on the Castle Hill opposite, thirteen stories high.

"I found next morning Mr. James DeWolfe, and gave him a letter from his father and mother. He gave me an invitation to share his lodgings with him, which I gladly accepted, and took up my residence at Mrs. Innes'

lodgings, 5 South College Street, sixth flat on a common stair. We lived there together until the first of the following August, when he received his degree of M.D. and returned to Nova Scotia. Our friendship remained unbroken until his death in 1901. When in the Government of Nova Scotia, I had the pleasure of appointing him medical superintendent of the Hospital for the Insane of Nova Scotia, which position he filled with ability and success.

"On my arrival in Edinburgh, I petitioned the senatus of the University to allow me to count the time I spent with Dr. Page at Amherst, and Dr. Harding at Windsor, as an Annus Medicus. This was granted. It enabled me to receive my first examination at the end of two years after matriculation, and my final examination for the degree of M.D. at the end of three years instead of four. Mr. DeWolfe had paid much attention to practical midwifery, and in addition to anatomy, physiology, chemistry and Materia Medica, I took Professor J. Y. Simpson's lectures on midwifery the first year.

"I attended a large number of cases, and competed for a gold medal which Professor Simpson offered to his class, consisting mostly of fourth-year students preparing for graduation. The essay was on 'Clinical Midwifery.' My motto was 'Nil desperandum,' and I gave details of twenty-four cases of accouchement. Professor Simpson said, in awarding the medal: 'The second on the list is "Nil Desperandum." I will be greatly pleased to make the acquaintance of the writer.' I called upon him, and was indebted to him for much attention and kindness up to the time of his lamented death. He sent his assistant, Dr. Keith, to inform me that my graduation thesis on 'The Mechanism and Management of Parturition' had received one of the four gold medals of the year, and Professor Simpson, when I received my degree, publicly stated that it was not awarded because a majority of the com-

mittee decided that two medals could not be given in the same branch of the profession.

"When in 1858, being Provincial Secretary of Nova Scotia, I made my first official visit to England, I took the earliest opportunity of calling upon Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., then renowned for his discovery of chloroform. He expressed great regret at my having left a profession where he expected me to take a high position. Dining with him and Lady Simpson the next day, I expressed my astonishment at Professor Henderson having become a homœopathist. Sir James said: 'I am afraid I had something to do with that. A gentleman brought me a case of globules, with each phial marked with the name of the medicine and the disease it would cure, and asked me to place thirty or forty patients under that treatment, and note the results. The case remained on my mantelpiece for a long time, when Dr. Henderson called one day to see me, and I handed the case to him, as his practice was much better adapted for such an experiment than mine. To my surprise, after some time he told me that the homœopathic treatment had been so successful as to induce him to adopt it.' Lady Simpson then remarked to Sir James that the result was really much more surprising than he supposed, as her little daughter (who was then at the table) had amused herself a long time one afternoon by emptying all those phials in the case into a saucer, mixing the contents together and then refilling the phials.

"Shortly after I was settled—not down but up—in my lodgings, I thought of my letters of introduction. Mr. Murphy, a West Indian gentleman living at Windsor, N.S., had given me a letter to Miss Graham, his niece, and I wended my way to Newington, then a suburb about a mile out of Edinburgh, to the residence of her father, Dr. Graham. Dr. Graham, when a surgeon in the Army and stationed at Jamaica, met and married Miss Murphy,

and my introduction was to their only daughter. Dr. Graham subsequently went with the Army to India, where his wife died. Being allowed private practice, he made a fortune, and married a very handsome and agreeable English lady, Miss Landale, whom he was called to attend.

"He had a very good self-contained residence, with a large fruit and vegetable garden in the rear. I called and handed my letter to a servant. Mrs. Graham came down and informed me that Miss Graham had been married while I was on the ocean, and had gone to India. She regretted that Dr. Graham was not at home, but asked for my address and said he would call and see me. A few days afterwards he appeared at my elevated lodgings, made an agreeable visit, and invited me to dine with them on the next Saturday at four o'clock. No one was present at the dinner except Doctor and Mrs. Graham, her sister, Miss Landale, and myself. After a good dinner we walked in the garden until tea time, and at eight o'clock sat down to supper, when I, for the first time, tasted whisky toddy, a glass and a half of whisky in a goblet of hot water with sugar, out of which I gave a wineglassful to Mrs. Graham, and the doctor gave one to Miss Landale. When I left, after ten, the doctor went with me to the door and, taking me by the hand, said: 'Mr. Tupper, you are going to spend some years in Edinburgh, and I wish you to promise to dine with us every Saturday at four o'clock while you are here.' I kept my promise as long as he lived, which was about two years. He left me at his death a case of instruments worth twenty-five pounds. Such is Scottish hospitality.

"On one occasion when at dinner, Dr. Graham said: 'Mr. Tupper, I am going to ask a great favour of you. Charles Kean and Miss Ellen Tree are playing to-morrow night in *The Lady of Lyons,* and as my wife and her sister are very anxious to see that play, and I wish to see Kean in *Macbeth* the following night, and I cannot go two

nights in succession, I would be much obliged if you would go with them to see *The Lady of Lyons.*' I said it would give me great pleasure, but well knowing my father's abhorrence of the theatre, I went with the greatest reluctance. From the moment the curtain rose and Kean rushed forward as Claude Melnotte and threw himself into the arms of his mother, until the play ended, I was entranced. It was a startling reality, and I felt that I would sacrifice anything to be a Kean. Every word he said, and the tones of his voice, rang in my ears for a week. I avoided the theatre as I would a pestilence until a year afterwards, when I saw the walls placarded with Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean in *The Lady of Lyons.* Kean had married Miss Tree in the interim. I could not resist going to see them, but the spell was broken—it was very fine, but it was a play. I have since seen a good deal of fine acting in many parts of the world, but never, in my opinion, the equal of that of Charles Kean.

"When my friend James R. DeWolfe had finished his studies at Edinburgh, I accepted an invitation from Mr. John Smith, the son of a corn merchant at Manchester, to share his lodgings at Mrs. Wilson's, 19 Salisbury Street. He was a clever and well-educated man, some years older than myself—a Wesleyan, a temperance advocate, and a vegetarian. I have seen him sit down with a long pipe in his mouth and write a speech on temperance for two hours, read it over twice, and then go to a meeting and deliver it in a rhetorical manner, almost verbatim. I was invited to visit his family in Manchester during the vacation of 1841. I was very anxious to attend the Wesleyan Conference which was to take place immediately, but as Smith had not only spent all his own money but mine also, we would miss the conference by waiting until he could write for funds and receive a reply. I persuaded him that it would be a good lark to go third class, for which we had sufficient. We expected to cross in the day from Glasgow

to Liverpool, reaching that city in time to get a train to Manchester. The railway had just been completed from Edinburgh to Glasgow, and our third-class accommodation consisted of standing up in a truck, like the present cattle trucks, without a roof. On our voyage a storm came on, and we were not only out all night without any place to sleep, but did not arrive until after the Liverpool train had gone to Manchester. As our luggage had a respectable appearance, there was a squabble for it among the porters. I said: 'Any one of you may carry it, but we have no money to pay you,' which terminated the competition. I went to an honest-looking porter—told him we were very short of money and asked him what he would charge to take it to a cheap but respectable place where we could get lodgings. He said sixpence, and Smith and I followed him in a funereal procession. We had had little sleep and less food, and both had been very seasick. Arrived at the lodgings, the landlady told me what it would cost for a bed and breakfast and cab to send us to the train, as her husband had cabs. We then sallied out and bought at the restaurant of Langham, a former prizefighter, some Abernethy biscuits and a quart of half-and-half. I remember but one other occasion when I enjoyed food so much. After a good night's sleep and a plain breakfast we were taken to the train, and when our second-class tickets were paid for we had just one halfpenny left. At this moment the cab-driver came up, when we thought our troubles were at an end, and, touching his hat, said: 'Remember the cabman, please.' I said: 'Are you not paid by the owner of the cab with whom we have settled?' He replied: 'Not a penny; we get nothing but what the gentlemen we drive are good enough to give us.' I put my hand in my pocket and, producing the halfpenny, said: 'That is all the money we have.' He touched his hat again, and said: 'It is not the least consequence, sir.'

"We were soon whirled to Manchester over the only

railway then in England. On arriving at his home, Smith said carelessly to the man who opened the door: 'James, discharge that cab; we have no change,' which was certainly true. I was amply repaid, however, by hearing the noted men who, at that day, adorned the Wesleyan pulpits of England. It is long ago, but I well remember the fervid eloquence of Dixon, Bunting and Joshua Newton, and last, but not least, 'Billy Jobson,' as he was called. He had been a landscape painter of some note, and by his word painting had carried into the pulpit the power of making you see as well as hear what he was describing. I was one of three thousand people in the Oldham Street Chapel, in Manchester, who simultaneously rose to their feet to get a nearer view of the Crucifixion, which he was then portraying.

"After a very pleasant visit of some weeks we returned to Edinburgh.

"Dr. Johnstone (a brother of the late Hon. J. W. Johnstone) was a retired gentleman living at Wolfville, near Horton Academy. His wife, who was a Miss Pryor, when I went to Edinburgh, gave me a letter to her youngest sister, who had married Mr. Laurence Davidson, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh. They occupied a very prominent position in society, and from them I received much attention. Two of Mrs. Davidson's nieces, Miss Sophia and Miss Emma Almon, of Halifax, lived with her during their education. When Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Edinburgh for the first time, Mr. Davidson, who was the factor of the Marquis of Breadalbane, was obliged to go to Taymouth Castle, where the Queen was about to visit. I was requested to attend the ladies when Her Majesty and Prince Albert made their Royal progress through Edinburgh, September 2, 1842. The crowd was so great that in crossing the bridge near Princes Street I was lifted off my feet by the pressure, and thus carried more than a hundred feet before I touched the ground.

Miss Almon and I stood on the top of a minibus standing between the Royal carriage and the fence of the Princes Street gardens. Mrs. Davidson and Miss Emma remained in the minibus. At night, when we drove in a carriage to see the procession, the mob on the Castle Hill resented the presence of carriages, and compelled the occupants to get down and walk. I was afraid of the consequences to the ladies, and told the coachman to give the horses the whip, and we got through; but not until a stone as large as my fist had been thrown, which glanced from the side of Miss Emma Almon's bonnet and struck me on the shoulder, but without doing any material damage.

"Her Majesty came to Edinburgh in the Royal yacht accompanied by two men-o'-war. It had been arranged that the Queen should be received at ten o'clock a.m., and a barricade and gate had been placed across the street leading from the Granton pier to the city, where Sir James Forrest, attended by the Bailies, was to deliver to Her Majesty the golden key of the city. Her Majesty, being seasick, landed at eight and proceeded through the city on her way to Dalkeith Palace. The Lord Provost and Bailies, hearing the Royal salute booming from Castle Hill, assumed their robes of office, and rushed to the scene of action, but the Queen had passed the barrier, and they were obliged to give her the key as she left the city.

"That night Lord John Scott, the brother of the Duke of Buccleuch, was commanded to sing a song. He sang a parody on 'Hey, Johnnie Cope'—'Hey, Jamie Forrest, are ye sleepin' yet, or are yer bailies wakin' yet,' etc.

"Shortly afterwards, when the Queen was visiting Taymouth Castle, Wilson, the Scottish melodist, then famous, was engaged to sing. When they asked Her Majesty's pleasure as to what songs he should sing, the Queen, not then so familiar with Scottish music as at a later date, asked Lord Breadalbane what he would suggest, and when he mentioned 'The Flowers of the Forest,' Her Majesty,

thinking it was another reference to Sir James Forrest, said deprecatingly: 'Oh, no more about that poor man.'

"I had studied assiduously, but knowing the importance of not failing to pass the examination, for three weeks before the first of May I went to bed at two o'clock a.m. and rose at five to continue my work. I drank strong coffee. On the Sunday preceding the Monday on which I was to be examined, the only Sunday on which I studied, I rose as usual at five o'clock, threw up the parlour window, and took up Reid's text-book on Chemistry, the only subject on which I was anxious. Almost directly I heard a remark, and said: 'Oh, nonsense, you must not tell me anything so absurd.' I turned my head, and was astonished to find that I was alone. I resumed my work, but in a short time the same thing occurred again. Thoroughly alarmed, I went out into the Queen's Park, where, walking rapidly in the morning breeze with my hat off, I soon felt all right. As soon as my breakfast was finished I called at the house of Mr. Kemp, who was the assistant of Professor Hope, and asked him if he would examine me in chemistry. He did so, and assured me that he had no doubt of my passing. Just as I was leaving with many thanks, Mr. Kemp said: 'Professor Hope has, during the past three weeks, spent much time in experimenting upon sodium and potassium and their compounds.' I spent the rest of the day studying the same.

"Before being admitted to any professional examinations the students were obliged to pass an examination in Latin. The books used for that purpose were Cæsar, Gregory's 'Conspectus of Theoretical Medicine,' and Cicero's 'De Natura Deorum.' Not having looked in a Latin book since leaving Horton Academy, I sat down with these three books before me the night before my examination and opened Cicero, and having read a page closed the book, satisfied that I need not trouble myself further on that matter. What was my surprise when I

SIR CHARLES TUPPER AS A YOUNG MAN

From an oil painting

entered the Latin examination room the next morning to be required to write a translation of that identical page in Cicero!

"In my day, the examinations were conducted by the professor of each department, with another professor present, and at the conclusion the examiner entered after your name: *Optime,* or *bene,* or *satis bene,* or *vix satis bene,* or *non satis bene.* He then handed the book to a janitor, who conducted you to the next department with the book, and so on to the end. When I was shown into Professor Hope's room and seated, the first words that greeted my ears were: 'Mr. Tupper, what is sodium?' After spending twenty minutes in describing sodium and potassium and their compounds, Professor Hope, who was a very courteous old gentleman, rose from his chair and, bowing, said: 'Mr. Tupper, I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon passing a most satisfactory examination.' He then wrote '*Optime*' against my name, and sent me on my way rejoicing.

"Professor Graham, the botanical professor, was one of the physicians of the Royal Infirmary, where I acted as clerk under him. I also attended his botanical excursions. He was a great pedestrian, and would keep us on the stretch going over the surrounding country from seven o'clock a.m., and it would take us until midnight to get back home. He was a stout man, and died from disease of the heart some years later.

"After examining me in the physiology of plants and structural botany, he said: 'That will do very well. We will now have a few practical questions. In what parts of the world are (I forget the species of the *Rosaceæ*) to be found?' I said: 'To tell the truth that is a family with which I am not very well acquainted.' 'Ah, well,' replied the professor, 'you can be a very good doctor without being able to answer that question.'

"I obtained the position of resident house surgeon of the Minto House Hospital, where the patients from out-

side came to be prescribed for and the medicines are made up by an apothecary in the hospital.

"When I left the Minto Hospital I received a flattering testimonial from the physicians.

"When I went to the University I made the acquaintance of Mr. Gordon, a young man from Pictou, N.S., who took the degree of M.D. August 1, 1841. He married a Miss Jennoway, whose brother was a lieutenant in the army. Dr. Gordon went into practice in Edinburgh. I was invited to a large dinner-party at his house and asked to take a very handsome young lady in to dinner. I did not catch her name, but thought music a safe subject for conversation. At that time there was a famous Scottish melodist, Wilson, who gave the authorship of Scotch songs and how they came to be written, and sang them melodiously. I said to her: 'I suppose you have heard Wilson?' She said: 'Oh yes, several times.' She then asked me which of his songs I liked best. I said it was difficult to say, but upon the whole I preferred 'Auld Robin Gray.' I did not know that the music was superior, but the story was so pathetic; there was something so revolting in youth and beauty being bound to decrepit old age. At that moment I caught a most significant look from my friend Dr. Gordon, and promptly changed the subject. I took an early opportunity of asking Gordon the meaning of his glance. He said: 'Mrs. Murray, to whom you were speaking, was not paying half the attention that her husband Dr. Murray was, who sat just opposite to you, and who is eighty-four years old.' Dr. Murray was an army surgeon with Lord Wellesley in India, and made a large fortune there in private practice, and returned, hale and hearty at seventy-four years of age, and married a beautiful girl of seventeen, who was now the mother of four children. They both forgave my ignorance and indiscretion, and were kind friends as long as I remained in Edinburgh. The doctor died about a year after I left, and

Mrs. Murray went to see the Duke of Wellington, who remembered her husband and gave an order for a commission for her son before she left the room.

"Among Mrs. Wilson's lodgers was Edward Bowman, the only son of Captain Bowman, then the oldest captain in the East India Company's service, and at one time Governor of Allahabad. His wife was a Miss Arthur, the sister of Ed. R. Arthur, of North Shields. She died, leaving two children, Edward and Kate, who were sent to England to their uncle and guardian, E. R. Arthur, better known as 'Captain' Arthur, as he had owned and commanded ships in the commercial service in India. My friend and fellow-student having written to his uncle, Captain Arthur, that I was ordered to leave Edinburgh for change of air, I received a pressing invitation to visit them, which I did. The family at North Shields consisted of Captain Arthur, his two sisters, Mrs. Robson, a widow, and Miss Arthur, an elderly spinster, and Miss Kate Bowman, a bright young girl of fifteen. I spent six weeks with them, receiving the kindest attention. Captain Arthur came to Edinburgh and spent a month with us at 19 Salisbury Street. I do not suppose that any two men, meeting as strangers, ever formed a stronger attachment for each other in so short a time.

"When in Edinburgh he asked me why I did not take the course of lectures to qualify for the College of Surgeons as his nephew was doing. I told him frankly that the University degree of M.D. was all that I required, and that as my father was a Baptist minister with a small stipend, I could not afford the expense. His first letter after his return home contained a Bank of England note of fifty pounds, and he stated in it that he would take it as a great favour if I would allow him to be my banker while I remained in Great Britain. I received from him in all one hundred and twenty-five pounds, for which he refused to take my note, saying I could return it at my own conve-

nience, but that if he took my note and he should die, I might be called upon when it was not convenient. At that time he was the owner of several East India ships and supposed to be rich. Five years afterwards, from disasters in shipping and insurance and the failure of his broker in London, he was a bankrupt—gave up everything he had, and went to work as a surveyor of shipping. I promptly returned to him the hundred and twenty-five pounds he had advanced to me, with interest at six per cent. from the time I received it.

"The advance I received from Captain Arthur enabled me to take the additional course for the diploma of the Royal College of Surgeons, which I obtained April 20, 1843, and also to visit the hospitals of London and Paris. It is a curious fact that had he taken my note, as I wished, the money would have gone to his creditors instead of himself after his affairs were settled. Captain Arthur was sent to Boston in 1851, where I went to see him, and he returned my visit at Amherst, N.S., after his important work in connection with a wreck was finished. The warmest friendship existed between us up to the date of his death in 1860.

"About two miles from Edinburgh, at the base of Arthur's Seat, lies Duddingston Loch, a sheet of water about half a mile long and two hundred yards wide. This is usually frozen over sufficiently to admit of skating for two or three weeks each winter. I went there one afternoon and found a notice that no one must skate more than fifty yards from the shore. When skating on the opposite side of the loch from the base of Arthur's Seat where a thousand spectators were standing, including Mrs. Davidson and her nieces, the Misses Almon, I heard a shout and, looking across, saw several persons in the water. Under an impulse I could not resist I skated directly across the loch with the ice waving under my feet like a sheet. When I got to the opening I found that six skaters were in the water, that six men of the Humane Society, with life pre-

servers on that would each support two men, had jumped in to rescue the skaters, while the others had gone for the lifeboat some distance up the loch. Five of the rescuers each seized a man and kept their heads above water; the sixth, the moment he was in the water, placed his hands upon the margin of the ice and called for help, leaving the sixth skater to drown. I went near the edge and told him to take hold of the knob of my stick and keep perfectly quiet, and I would save him. He did as directed, but the ice on which I was standing continued to sink until the water came over the tops of my Wellington boots. The crowd on the shore shouted that the ice on which I stood was giving way, which it did, and went down with a crash. I still retained my stick with the man holding on to the other end, and lunged forward to get the other arm on the ice, which I did, until the iceboat on runners was pushed into the opening and we were all pulled into it. The moment I touched the shore I skated along the margin of the loch towards home to escape recognition, took off my skates and ran all the way to my lodgings and got out of my frozen clothes. All the rest who had been in the water were taken to the building of the Humane Society and cared for, but the man who had screamed for help died a few days after. It was not courage, but an impulse I could not resist. A thousand pounds would not have tempted me to skate across the loch before or after that event. My anxiety to escape recognition was to prevent my name getting in the papers and the shock it would give my mother, who was an invalid, when she heard of it. When I went into the lecture-room that evening all the class rose and cheered.

* * * * * *

"There were two highly accomplished elderly maiden ladies who had a house in Warriston Crescent. One was Miss Patterson, a niece of Earl Grey, and the other, Miss Tulloch, a sister of Major Tulloch, on duty in India. They entertained all the celebrities who visited Edinburgh, and

patronised the Polish exiles and a few students. They had adopted a pretty and clever young lady, Miss Nelson, the orphan child of a Writer to the Signet in Glasgow. My friend and fellow-lodger, DeWolfe, had invited a Pole, Willobiski, who was to graduate at the same time as himself, to go with him to Nova Scotia. This he did, and Dr. Willobiski, after a successful career as physician at Liverpool, N.S., returned to England and lived to over a hundred years. Miss Patterson and Miss Tulloch invited DeWolfe to their charming parties with his friend Willobiski.

"After DeWolfe had returned to Nova Scotia, Miss Tulloch told Mrs. Davidson that I was the only young man who had invariably declined their invitations. When this was repeated to me I explained that I had never received them. One soon followed, and I met afterwards, at the charming reunions at Warriston Crescent, many distinguished men and women. At their house I heard Buche, who was then regarded as the finest flute player in the world, and Horinski, who had no superior on the guitar. He was an old white-haired man, and at his side was his bride, a young Scots woman, whom he had taught to love him when teaching her the guitar. Many years afterwards, when I was Minister of Railways and Canals, she called upon me at Ottawa with a letter of introduction from Mrs. Lyschinski, asking me to use my good offices for her son. I have always had a remarkable memory for faces, with a very deficient one for names. I said: 'I am sure I have seen your face before,' when it flashed upon me that it was at the side of Horinski at Miss Tulloch's. Her son was appointed on the exploratory surveys for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and I have a volume of excellent photographs taken on the route from Tête Jaune Cache to Fort Simpson by him.

"Leaving Warriston Crescent one dark night after dinner, I fell down the area about three feet and bruised

the elbow of my right arm. The joint inflamed; it was leeched, and ultimately counter-irritation was used. When writing my graduation essay it became troublesome. I went over one morning to consult Mr. Syme, the great professor of surgery of that day. He was standing on one leg with an elbow on the mantelpiece. I flexed my elbow, saying: 'Do you hear that creaking sound?' He flexed his knee-joint, saying: 'Do you hear that? If you will cure my knee, I will cure your elbow, but I am afraid we will both have to leave it to time.'

"In April, 1843, I passed the final examinations for the degree of M.D. of the University of Edinburgh, and having passed the required examination on the 20th of April, the diploma of the Royal College of Edinburgh was conferred upon me. As the degree of M.D. is only conferred upon the first day of August, I determined to visit the hospitals of London and Paris in the interim, and in response to a pressing invitation from my friends the Arthurs, I went by water to North Shields, and spent a few days with them.

"The day after I arrived there they told me there was to be a lecture on 'Animal Magnetism' in the Town Hall. I said it was all humbug, but would go with them for amusement. We found the hall crowded with most intelligent people. The lecturer frankly stated in the outset that he could not tell them much about his subject, but that if a number of persons would come upon the platform and allow him to magnetise them, he was quite sure that he would find some among them by whom he could illustrate the existence of animal magnetism. He then invited any person willing to be experimented upon to come on the platform. As no one responded to his urgent appeals, it suddenly occurred to me to submit myself for experiment, pretend to be magnetised, and then expose the humbug of which I believed it consisted. To the astonishment of my friends, I ascended the platform. The lecturer said: 'I

have never seen this young gentleman before, and do not know that I can magnetise him, but we will soon know.' I was then seated in an arm-chair, and after he had made a number of passes I pretended to fall into a deep sleep. He said: 'This is an unusually susceptible subject, and to prove to you that there is no deception and that he has no more consciousness or feeling than a piece of wood, I will insert this knife under his finger-nail until the blood will drop down on this sheet of white paper, and he will know no pain and will not awake.' I began to think when I heard that that it was a case of 'the biter bitten.' This was done—the pain was most excruciating, but I made no sign. He then thrust a needle into the back of my hand so that those near could see it standing up. From that moment the audience were completely carried away, and prepared to believe anything. The lecturer then said that the subject was so susceptible that he would be able to give them some striking illustrations of phreno-mesmerism by exciting the various organs. He said: 'I will now excite the organ of veneration.' As soon as he placed his finger on the part of my cranium where phrenologists locate the organ of veneration, I said in a devout manner:

"'O for a closer walk with God,
A calm and heavenly frame;
A light to shine upon the road
That leads me to the Lamb.'

"The operator then said as I was proceeding: 'I will now press my finger on the organ of combativeness, and you will note the result.' He expected me to strike with the right hand, but I struck him a sharp blow under the short ribs that sent him half across the platform, and felt I had balanced the account for his knife and needle work. He then thought it well to change the subject, and said: 'We will try his oratorical powers by exciting language.' I rose and delivered 'Rienzi to the Romans.' He then said: 'Never having seen this gentleman before, I do

not know whether there is any music in him, but if there is I will bring it out.' I then thought I was at the end of my tether, as I know nothing of music; but the audience by this time were so excited that I struck up the only tune I had ever the slightest idea of catching—one that I had heard at prayer-meetings when I was a child:

"'On Jordan's stormy banks I stand,
And cast a wistful eye
To Canaan's fair and happy land,
Where my possessions lie.'

"They said it was no doubt good, but they had never heard it before. The lecturer then did something that staggered me very much. He said: 'I will now stand back to back with this gentleman so that it will be impossible for him to see what I put in my mouth; but you can see, and he will at once tell you what it is.' He then asked: 'What have I got in my mouth now?' I answered, without the slightest hesitation: 'Sugar.' It was sugar. Again: 'What have I in my mouth now?' I promptly answered: 'Salt.' It was salt. And again: 'What have I in my mouth?' and with perfect confidence I said: 'Tobacco,' and I was right.

"The audience was wildly enthusiastic, and the lecturer equally delighted. He then made a few passes to demesmerise me and we separated—all but myself satisfied of the truth of mesmerism, and I satisfied that the subject was worthy of careful consideration.

"When in Lancashire, in crossing the country, my attention was drawn by Smith to a gipsy encampment, which we visited. A gipsy girl said: 'Show me your hand and I will tell you your past.' She said: 'You come from a long way across the water,' and she told me my past life as if she were reading from a book. She then said: 'Now cross your hand with silver, and I will tell you the future,' in which there was nothing.

"Captain Arthur went with me to London from New-

castle in a four-horse coach. He introduced me to Mr. and Mrs. Crammond: he was an East India broker. His daughter and step-daughter, Miss Frances—Mrs. Crammond had been previously married—were just returning to a fashionable boarding-school in Paris. They, learning I was going to Paris, invited me to meet at dinner Monsieur and Madame de Wailly. He was the First Secretary of the French Legation in London, and a literary man of high standing. Madame could not speak English. We, with Miss Benham, a young lady returning from London to the same boarding-school, occupied the interior of a diligence, drawn by four white stallions, for two whole days and a night, between Boulogne and Paris. When we arrived there I asked M. de Wailly to recommend me to a good French hotel, but he insisted upon my being his guest during the three weeks I spent at Paris. As Madame Poupart, who was, with Madame Karen, joint-proprietress of the boarding-school, was the sister of Madame de Wailly, Miss Frances and Miss Crammond were constantly with us. We went together to see the sights of Paris, theatres, etc. They were very interesting young ladies. At half-past seven in the morning Ma'm'selle Chandellier, the maid, wheeled a little table to the side of my French bedstead, with *café au lait* and a roll, after taking which I went to the hospital and heard the famous French surgeon, M. Ricord, lecture, and saw him operate; returned to *déjeuner a la fourchette* at 10.30, and dined at six p.m.

"Soon after I reached Paris, M. de Wailly presented me with a charming French novel written by himself, in two volumes, 'Angelica Kauffmann.' I read it while there, and then said to M. de Wailly: 'Sir Bulwer Lytton's *Lady of Lyons* is simply this book dramatised.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'that is quite true; but I published it ten years before *The Lady of Lyons* was written, but he never admitted that he had ever seen it.' As Lord Lytton was too great a man to be guilty of plagiarism, I cannot help thinking that, being

a great glutton of books, he had devoured this with hundreds of others and forgotten all about it, but a germ had been left in the mind which ultimately fructified and blossomed into the drama of *The Lady of Lyons*. I was quite angry with the author of 'Angelica Kauffmann' for allowing his hero to die in prison. I said to him: 'Why could you not have ended your novel as Sir Bulwer Lytton did his drama?' 'Because,' said M. de Wailly, 'I wished to be true to nature. It is all very fine to represent virtue triumphing over vice, but it is much oftener the other way.'

"When I returned to Edinburgh I recounted my Parisian adventures to two of my fellow-students, Ned Bowman and Fred Johnston, and gave a particular description of Miss Frances and Miss Crammond. They had never heard of them before, but, strange to say, one married Miss Frances and the other Miss Crammond.

"My friends, Captain Arthur with his two sisters, Mrs. Robson and Miss Arthur, and his ward, a niece, Miss Bowman, when I returned from Paris, came to Edinburgh and took a nice house, and made Ned Bowman and me go and live with them for three weeks, until the first of August, when I received my degree of M.D. They gave parties to all our friends. The day I graduated we all started for a tour in the Highlands with my friend Dan Parker, Allan, a medical student from Nova Scotia, Mrs. Murray and her sister, Mrs. McKonnichie. We drove to Granton pier, went by steamer to Stirling, and then spent three weeks in the country rendered so classical by the pen of Sir Walter Scott. There were then neither railways, steamers nor hotels in the Highlands. We were carried from one loch to another on the backs of donkeys with gillies, and rowed across the lochs by Highlanders who claimed to be the descendants of Rob Roy McGregor, and slept sometimes in a field-bed on the floor of the rude inns. After a delightful tour we returned to Edinburgh, and having said good-bye to many dear friends I started for home, more homesick at leaving

Edinburgh than I had ever been. My friend Parker, whom I first met in August, 1837, at Horton Academy, who rejoined me at Mrs. Wilson's lodging at Edinburgh in October, 1842, and between whom and myself the warmest friendship existed without a momentary cloud intervening for more than sixty-five years, went to Glasgow with several other friends to see me off. I took my passage for Boston in a barque of four hundred tons, loaded with pig-iron and bricks. We were nearly a week getting out of the Clyde, as, after going a short distance when it was high water, we grounded and had to wait for the next high tide. Parker and I then went ashore and explored both sides of the Clyde, until at last we said good-bye and he returned in the pilot-boat.

"My voyage from Glasgow to Boston lasted fifty-four days. I was seasick until a week before we landed. I took my passage from Boston to St. John, and went to my father's at Amherst, where I found all delighted to see me."

CHAPTER II

BEGINNING OF POLITICAL CAREER (1844—55)

THE leader of the Conservative party in Nova Scotia in 1844 was the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, one of the most distinguished lawyers of his day.

In that year the Conservative Government was in power in Nova Scotia, and Joseph Howe was leader of the Opposition.

Sir Charles in his journal thus recounts his advent into the world of politics:

"The Hon. A. Stewart came to Amherst to attend the marriage of his daughter to Mr. Dickie. Mr. Howe came at the same time, and a meeting was arranged for a public discussion between them. It occupied a part of two days, and closed at ten o'clock at night. I attended the meeting, but took no notes. Immediately after the meeting was over I was obliged to ride on horseback twenty miles to see a man threatened with tetanus. I spent the remainder of the night with the patient, and rode back home the next day. The day following Mr. Stewart told me that he had noticed that I had paid great attention to the discussion, and said he would be much obliged if I would send a report of the meeting to his friend the Hon. Mr. Johnstone."

Acting upon this, Dr. Tupper wrote a letter which not only serves as an account of an extraordinary political meeting, but as an extraordinary feat of memorised reporting.

It is impossible to reproduce the whole of this letter, but the following passages will serve to show the manner in which Dr. Tupper executed this commission:

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

AMHERST, *October* 16, 1844.

To THE HON. J. W. JOHNSTONE.

DEAR SIR,—It having been suggested to me that you would feel interested in the recent political movements in this county, I gladly embrace the opportunity of J. Haliburton, Esq., going to Halifax to transmit to you a brief sketch of what has transpired. In apology for the meagreness of the detail, I might here premise that although I was enabled to attend the whole of the discussion here I took no notes of the proceedings. I was called to see a patient twenty miles distant just as the meeting terminated, and since that time my professional avocations have monopolised my time entirely up to the present moment. At the same time, whilst my memory may be defective and my limited knowledge of politics may lead me into some inaccuracies which you will readily detect, I think the following statement will be found substantially correct.

About a fortnight since R. M. Dickey, Esq., M.P.P., gave notice that he would meet his constituents at Parrsboro' on Tuesday, the 8th inst., and explain to them the course he had pursued in Assembly during the past winter's session. He went for that purpose (I think unattended). I understand that the meeting was convened and addressed by Mr. Dickey and Mr. G. Lewis, and when about separating Mr. Howe appeared, the packet having just then reached Parrsboro'. Mr. Dickey gave permission, and Mr. Howe addressed the meeting, after which it separated without any resolutions being offered by either party. On Wednesday, Messrs. Howe and Lewis came on to Maccan and held a meeting, when I am told they passed resolutions. About noon on that day intelligence reached Amherst that Mr. Howe was in Cumberland and intended holding a meeting the day following at this place. No definite information, however, as to Mr. Howe's intended movements could be obtained by the Conservative side until half past twelve on Thursday, at which time J. McCully and James Page, Esqrs., sent a requisition to the Sheriff requesting the use of the Court House to hold a meeting at 2 p.m. on that day for the purpose of political discussion.

The Hon. A. Stewart, who had remained here to attend the wedding of his daughter, who was to be married at 5 p.m. on that day, consented most cheerfully to attend the meeting.

Between 2 and 3 p.m. a considerable number of persons, being assembled, J. Chandler, Esq., Sheriff, was unanimously called to the Chair. Mr. Stewart then called upon the Sheriff to read the requisition and the names attached, and stated the time that it

had been received, which being done Mr. McCully stated that in consequence of Mr. Dickey calling a political meeting at Parrsboro', Mr. Howe had been invited to meet him, and that the shortness of the notice was unavoidable. Mr. Dickey stated that the meeting at Parrsboro' was not called for political discussion, but simply that he might explain to his friends the course he had pursued, and ascertain their wants. Mr. McCully then moved that Joseph Howe, Esq., be requested to address the meeting, which was seconded by B. Page, Esq., surgeon.

Mr. Howe then rose and addressed the meeting in a cool, cautious, and lengthy speech. He stated that he had been invited by a number of letters received from persons in Cumberland immediately on his return from Annapolis, to come to this county and defend the course pursued by the Opposition, and after feelingly throwing himself upon the kindness of the audience, as a stranger, proceeded to detail the origin and designation of political parties in this province. The Tory misrule and the Liberal combination to oppose it; the existence of gross abuses in the Government; the necessity of reform; the struggle of the Liberals for that reform, and the determined opposition of the Tories to it. [Here follows a detailed analysis of the speech.]

Mr. Howe then sat down, moderately cheered by his own party, and Mr. Stewart immediately took the floor. That honourable member of the Government commenced by thanking Mr. Howe for having placed him under a compliment for the first time, and expressed his gratitude that he (Mr. Howe) had at last given him an opportunity of couching a lance with him, and in the face of a portion of the constituency of Cumberland given him an opportunity of defending both that Government and himself which had been so severely maligned and misrepresented by a venal press. [Mr. Stewart's speech is then dealt with in detail.]

The wedding party at this stage of the proceedings passed to the church, and an adjournment until 1 o'clock p.m. the following day being agreed on, the meeting dispersed.

Friday.—About 1 o'clock p.m., the meeting being reassembled, Hon. Mr. Stewart resumed.

The meeting then adjourned for half an hour, it being 2 o'clock p.m. At the expiration of the half-hour the meeting reassembled, when Mr. Howe rose.

He said that he had been entirely ignorant of the marriage which had just taken place, and concluded his expressions of regret at the interruption which he had unwillingly occasioned, by

proposing three cheers for the bride, which were loudly responded to on all sides.

Mr. Howe then read an advertisement which had been placed on an old stone in the village on Wednesday night expressive of an intention to "tar and feather Joe Howe." He proceeded to comment with much feeling and in strong terms of indignation upon it, and stated that no man dare lay a finger in anger upon him in the public streets, and that if any person by a combination offered him an insult he could tell them that there was tar and feathers in Halifax, and it would not be well for the aggressor to show his nose there, and if they could not get hold of him they would take his nearest and dearest friend and wreak their vengeance upon them. He then made some discursive observations with reference to the origin of Toryism in Cain and its continuation and progress down to our times, interspersing his observations with witticisms and malicious jokes not a few.

Mr. Howe then in an impressive and eloquent reference to the immortality of the principles of the Liberals and the pride it would afford him in death to think that he could bequeath British freedom to his children, concluded, and was loudly cheered by his adherents.

Mr. Stewart immediately replied. It was getting late, he said, yet he could not refrain from pointing out to them the way in which by dealing with irrelevant matter and amusing his audience, Mr. H. had led them from the question at issue.

Mr. Stewart concluded by pronouncing in terms, which my power is not adequate to attempt, a eulogy upon the blessings which we derive from our connection with the parent state and its fostering care, and sat down amidst the loud and long-continued plaudits of the Conservative party.

Mr. Howe rose and stated that he felt the right of reply belonged to the Hon. member of the Government, and although he had taken a few notes he should decline any further observations, and thanked the meeting for the courteous and attentive demeanour which had characterised it.

John Bent, Esq., from Fort Lawrence, then rose and moved a resolution expressive of want of confidence in the present advisers of Lord Falkland, which was seconded by B. Page, Esq., surgeon.

W. W. Bent, Esq., immediately rose and brought forward an amendment to the foregoing resolution, deprecating the present agitation and expressing the fullest confidence in Lord Falkland's Government as at present constituted, which amendment was

seconded by Inglis Haliburton, Esq., who made an attack upon J. McCully, Esq., as the person who had directed Mr. Howe's suspicions upon him as the author of that disgusting and disgraceful advertisement which was equally despised by all parties, and said that he had been taunted on a former occasion in that house by Mr. McCully that he dare not oppose Mr. Howe to his face, and he took this opportunity of asking whether he had merited the brand of cowardice. Mr. Howe said that Mr. McCully had not implicated Mr. Haliburton, and that from what he knew of Mr. Haliburton's family he was assured that Mr. Haliburton would not be afraid to maintain to any man's face anything that he would assert in his absence. Mr. McCully denied having implicated Mr. Haliburton, or directed any suspicion towards him, and remarked that as frequent allusions had been made to him throughout the day, he could tell them that opposed as he was by numbers he was prepared to meet "The Jury Box Question" before the court at Halifax, and courted the fullest investigation. . . . Mr. Haliburton, upon the disavowal of Mr. McCully and Mr. Howe, retracted the charge and offensive expressions he had made use of towards Mr. McCully.

The Chairman then put the amendment and the meeting, at this time densely crowded, attempted to divide. Three cheers were given by the Conservative party to Lord Falkland, three to the Administration, and three to the Hon. A. Stewart, which were answered by deafening shouts from the Opposition. Both sides claimed, as usual, a large majority; the utmost excitement prevailed, and counting was out of the question. At this stage of the proceedings I left and hurried off to River Philip with a messenger who was waiting for me at the door. I am told that both parties directly afterwards left the house, and Mr. Howe addressed his friends at the door of the Acadia Hotel, whither they followed him.

I found that Mr. Howe had called a meeting for that afternoon at River Philip, which, of course, was disappointed. He went the next day, Saturday, to Pugwash, escorted by Gaius Lewis, James Page, and J. M. McCully, Esqrs., but I am told was too late for a meeting appointed there, and called a meeting for Monday, which was to embrace Pugwash and Wallace.

Mr. Howe's friends have invited him to a dinner at Acadia Hotel, which is to come off on Wednesday.

As far as the meeting here was concerned, I looked upon it as a decisive defeat on the part of Mr. Howe. The meeting was evidently preconcerted by his friends and unknown to the Conserva-

tive party. Mr. Howe came thus suddenly to Amherst, bringing with him Messrs. Lewis and Logan, and all the force they could muster from the west end of the county, where the struggle lies. Mr. Stewart doubled them effectively in obtaining the adjournment, and thus allowed the meeting to be more widely known, and though the night was spent by the supporters of Mr. Howe beating up recruits on all sides (Mr. Lewis himself riding twelve miles and sending a messenger eight more to collect supporters from Amherst shore, whilst on the other side it was occupied by wedding festivities), yet I am confident there was a decisive majority in favour of the Government. At all events, not one man who assisted in returning Messrs. Fulton and Dickey by so large a majority voted with Mr. Howe, whilst numbers of Mr. Lewis and Mr. Logan's warmest supporters at the last election voted with Mr. Stewart. . . .

It is but justice to Mr. Stewart to say that whilst this imperfect sketch represents him most inadequately, we all felt that he gave a most lucid, able, and manly exposition of the policy of the Government; whilst it was evident that Mr. Howe, on the other side, with all his acknowledged talent and ability, failed to meet his arguments fairly, and endeavoured by the introduction of unimportant matter and satirical jokes to lead the minds of the audience from the subject matter under discussion.

As for myself, policy dictated to me to stand aloof from politics altogether, and I settled here with that intention, but when I saw a man like Mr. Stewart, who has always unflinchingly advocated our rights, so grossly stigmatised and persecuted by a venal press—when I saw that the dearest object of that arch agitator, Mr. Howe, was the destruction of my beloved Alma Mater—when I saw the coarse invective, abuse, and misrepresentation that was adopted by the corrupt Liberal press—I felt that it was a crisis which called for every well-wisher of his country to take a decisive stand in defence of what I conceived to be right. I have therefore used all the influence in my power on behalf of the present Government, and fondly trust that it may long prosper. Mr. Howe is said to be canvassing this county, intending to run it at the next election against Mr. Stewart should he offer. He tells them here that he can bring Mr. Lewis in for Halifax. I hope you will be able to induce Mr. Stewart to come forward here. We feel confident that he must be returned by a very large majority; but if he cannot be induced to do so could you not bring him in for Anapolis and run this county yourself? There could be no doubt of the result. As far as this county is concerned, few of any side, I think, really question the

certainty of its returning the Conservative members at the next election.

With the warmest wishes for your political prosperity and personal happiness,—I remain, Your most obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER.

P.S.—I think that Mr. Stewart has certainly influence enough with Messrs. Dickey and Fulton to get them to go with you on the College question. If they desert you there it will have a most unfavourable effect upon the Conservative interest here.—C. T.

The foregoing account of what took place in 1844 antedates, by seven years, Dr. Tupper's first public appearance in the political arena. It indicates his sympathy with the Conservative party, and his wide and accurate knowledge of local politics.

Sir Charles, in his journal, thus continues his account of his everyday life as a doctor:

"I made an offer of marriage to Miss Frances Morse, of Amherst. Having obtained the consent of her parents, she accepted my proposal, and we were married on the 8th of October, 1846.

"Enjoying the professional confidence of my county, I was called to almost all important cases of illness from Wallace, forty miles east, to Cape Chignecto, sixty miles west of Amherst, where we lived. My life was spent in riding or driving from one part of the county to the other. I can hardly understand how I endured the fatigue. On one occasion, having reached home after a ride on horseback of fifty miles at midnight, my wife told me I had been sent for to see a man at Advocate Harbour, who was dangerously ill. I said I could not go so far from home as the child of the rector, Mr. Townshend, was in a critical condition with scarlet fever. She said she had promised I would go as soon as I returned, and the messenger had returned. Mrs. Townshend being greatly distressed at my being so far away, I promised to go and return without stopping. As soon as a fresh horse was harnessed I started for Advocate Harbour, went there, prescribed for Captain Armstrong, who

was suffering from pneumonia, and turned my face homewards. When within twenty miles of home, after having ridden fifty miles on horseback and driven a hundred miles in a wagon, only stopping to eat, I called to see a patient at Maccan. I asked them to give me a cup of strong tea and not allow me to go to sleep. Before the tea was ready I was so sound asleep in my chair that they could not awaken me for four hours, when I concluded my continuous ride and drive of a hundred and seventy miles. The struggle to keep awake in driving was most painful.

"The country practitioner has to be ready for every emergency. Before the discovery of anæsthetics or antiseptics I was called to visit a Mrs. Livingston, twenty-seven miles distant. From the description of the case, I took amputating instruments with me. I found the patient suffering from osteosarcoma of the femur, which had attained a great size; the pain had been continuous and intense. She was reduced to a skeleton, and said she had not slept for six weeks. I told her that the only remedy was amputation at the hip-joint; that I was afraid she would die under the operation, and that if she survived some other part might be attacked and result in death at no distant day; but if she wished, I would give her the chance. She replied: 'If I was sure I could not live through the operation I would beg you to take my leg off.' I sent to Pugwash, twelve miles distant, for the only doctor within reach—a young man who had just commenced practice and had never assisted in an operation before. He arrived in the morning, and I showed a sailor how to ligature an artery. The doctor compressed the femoral artery, and I made the anterior flap, when I found my assistant faint and the artery not controlled. I pushed him aside, pressed my thumb on the artery, and addressed him in language more forcible than polite, which made him very angry but enabled him to do his duty. I removed the limb as quickly as possible, picked up the arteries which the sailor ligatured, completed the opera-

tion, gave the patient a good dose of brandy and laudanum, after which she said she felt as if she was in heaven, and soon was asleep. The wound united by the first intention, and six weeks after the operation she was taken to tea at a neighbour's house. She became stout, and four months afterwards, when weeding in the garden in a hot sun, she was seized with apoplexy, fell over and died.

"My only brother, Nathan, was two years younger than myself. Finding he had a great aptitude for the profession, I assisted him in obtaining the degree of M.D., and took him into partnership. When I became Provincial Secretary, and removed to Halifax, I relinquished the practice to him without any consideration.

"When I was High Commissioner for Canada in London his health failed, and I invited him to visit me there, but Dr. Parker, whom he consulted, advised him not to cross the Atlantic as he feared an artery might give way. He wrote to me to that effect, and expressed a great desire to see me. My wife and I reached Rimouski on August 8, 1886, at ten a.m. As I learned there that my brother was much better, and as my wife was not at all well, I determined to go with her to Halifax and return next morning to Amherst to see him; but as we approached Amherst I felt I could not pass it, and told her I must stop there and would join her at Halifax the following day. I reached Amherst at 3.10 a.m. Sunday, the 29th August, and spent the day with my brother, who was quite resigned but very cheerful. We talked over everything. I left him in good spirits at 12.30 p.m. on Monday for Halifax. On Tuesday morning his wife, on awakening, found him paralysed and unable to speak, which state continued until the 15th of September, when he died.

"The great-grandfather of my wife was Joseph Morse, who died in 1769, and was buried in the old military burying-ground at Fort Cumberland. His eldest son, Alpheus, in 1776 married Theodora, daughter of Major Crane, of

Connecticut, and the sister of Colonel Crane, of Horton, who removed to Nova Scotia at the time of the rebellion. Colonel Crane was a prominent actor in the political history of Nova Scotia from 1769 to 1819. Alpheus Morse and his wife lived and died in Amherst, and were the first occupants of the town of Amherst where it now stands. One of his sons, the Hon. James Morse, was a barrister and a representative of the township of Amherst in the Legislative Assembly. Another son, W. A. D. Morse, became a judge, and the youngest, Silas Morse, the father of my wife, was the Prothonotary of the Court of Amherst. He married Elizabeth Stewart, the sister of Hon. Alexander Stewart, a lawyer of great ability, who represented the county of Cumberland in the House of Assembly for many years, was a member of the Legislative Council, and afterwards Master of the Rolls of Nova Scotia, when he was made a C.B.

"Judge Stewart married Sarah, the sister of my wife's father. Both Silas Morse and his sister Mrs. Stewart lived to the advanced age of ninety-four.

"My father-in-law, who had just completed a large new house, offered me half of it, which I occupied after our marriage. On the 23rd of July, 1847, our dear Emma was born, and a year and half afterwards her sister Lillie followed—April 23, 1849. Six weeks after her birth Mr. Morse's house, where we resided, was burned, together with my coach-house and stables. I had just left on horseback for the Joggins Mines, when looking back I saw a large fire which I took for a building belonging to a neighbour. I rode rapidly through the village giving the alarm of fire, then returning found it was my stables. I threw myself off the horse and rushed to the stable already on fire, hoping to save a favourite horse, when Rev. G. Townshend threw his arms around me and begged me not to rush on certain death. My poor horse and carriages and all else were soon in ashes; the house soon followed, but much of the furniture was saved.

"On the 30th of November our dear little Lillie succumbed to an attack of diarrhœa caused by teething.

"On the 26th of October, 1851, our son James Stewart was born.

"The Hon. Mr. Johnstone's party was defeated at the General Election of 1851. Joseph Howe was returned without a contest with the Conservative member, Mr. Fulton. When it became known that Mr. Fulton had agreed to join the Liberals, their election was protested and set aside on the ground that the arrangement had been made after two o'clock, the hour at which the nominations were closed by law. Thomas Andrew DeWolfe, a gentleman of high standing at Halifax, was invited by the Conservatives of Cumberland to contest, associated with A. McFarlane, against Mr. Howe and Mr. Fulton. When Mr. DeWolfe came to Cumberland I drove out twenty miles to River Philip to meet him and bring him to Amherst the day before nomination in March, 1852. I introduced him at a small meeting at the school-house at River Philip in a short speech, the first I had ever made on politics. On the evening preceding the nomination the leading Conservatives met to arrange for the morrow. When the question arose as to who should propose Mr. DeWolfe, he said he would prefer that I should do so. I did not sleep much that night, and was so nervous the next morning that I threw up my breakfast on the way to the corner where the nomination was to take place.

"The hustings were erected in the street opposite Coffey's Hotel, where Mr. Howe was staying. At ten o'clock the sheriff called for the nominations, and Mr. Howe not being present, I rose to propose Mr. DeWolfe. There was great excitement, not less than three thousand persons from all parts of the county being present. I had not proceeded far when Mr. Howe came on the platform. I then said: 'Mr. Howe, I am proposing Mr. DeWolfe as a candidate, but as you were the former representative I will give way to your proposer.' He replied:

'Not at all, doctor; go on and make your speech.' I proceeded, and having stated the claims of Mr. DeWolfe to the confidence of the people, was proceeding to show why Mr. Howe should not be elected. Mr. Howe, finding that my speech was exciting much attention, interrupted me, and said: 'The candidate should be heard first.' I replied: 'Mr. Howe has himself requested me to go on with my speech, and I claim the right, as the proposer of Mr. DeWolfe, to give my reasons for thinking he should be chosen instead of Mr. Howe.' The Liberals then shouted: 'Hear the candidates!' and when Mr. Howe rose his voice was drowned by the Conservatives shouting: 'Hear Dr. Tupper!'

"After this fierce contest had continued for more than an hour the order of procedure was referred to a committee, who decided that Mr. DeWolfe should speak first, Mr. Howe second, and then Messrs. Fulton and McFarlane, after which I and any others who wished to speak should be heard. The effect of all this was the impression created on the minds of the Conservatives that Mr. Howe was afraid to allow me to be heard, and from that day there was a fixed determination that I should be a candidate. Mr. Howe and Mr. Fulton were elected by a majority of one hundred and eighty over McFarlane and two hundred and forty-two over DeWolfe.

"The nervousness which effected me strongly when I was about to speak, causing violent action of the heart and great nausea, continued for more than twenty years of public life, but when I commenced speaking entirely disappeared, and left me in the fullest command of all the resources I possessed.

"After my marriage I took an active part in the promotion of temperance, and delivered a lecture upon the subject to a crowded audience.

"I contracted typhus fever when attending a patient at Apple River. When returning home on horseback from visiting another patient I found myself suffering from unmistakable symptoms of typhus. As soon as I reached

home I said I was not very well, and sent for Dr. Page. When he arrived I closed the door and said: 'Doctor, I am in for typhus, and you must not allow my wife to come near me, as I fear she will take it.' She had pushed the door a litle open when I closed it, and heard what I said. I was soon delirious and, to her great distress, would not allow her to come near me. Shortly after I recovered, when still very weak, I went to see a patient at Minudie, about seven miles distant, via a ferry which was about half a mile wide. I went on board a scow with my horse, the same one that was burned soon afterwards. I was holding him firmly with my hand close to his jaws when the ferryman, in gybing the sail, touched his hocks, and before I could let go he had carried me overboard, and we went down together. Fearing he would strike me with his feet, I let go of the bridle and dived deeper. When I came up I was thirty or forty feet from the scow, and my horse more than fifty yards distant. I swam to the scow and we made for the shore. It was in April, and I was very cold. Mr. Amos Seaman's was the principal residence in the place and the nearest to the shore, where I was put in bed with warm blankets and a stiff tumbler of brandy and water administered. I was soon asleep, and awoke some two hours afterwards none the worse for the immersion. My horse was carried down by the tide, but landed all right after being in the water more than an hour."

The touch of the charm of political warfare felt by Dr. Tupper during the campaign referred to lingered with him for the next three years, the time intervening before the general election. The Conservatives did not fail to discern in him a good candidate for the coming contest.

The Government, its candidates being sustained in the election of 1852, went forward with its ordinary labours and the building of a local railway from Halifax to Windsor and towards Truro.

Dr. Tupper's practice gave him large opportunities to

discuss with the people the politics of the day. The suggestion that he should be Mr. Howe's opponent ripened into a fixed purpose before the election of 1855. Some records of this campaign are found in his journal:

"The House of Assembly was dissolved on the 25th of April, 1855. Mr. Alexander McFarlane, a barrister, the son of Hon. Daniel McFarlane, of Wallace, who had been twice defeated as a candidate, and R. B. Dickey, barrister, a son of R. M. G. Dickey, who had represented the county, waited upon me, as leaders of the Conservative party, to say it was the unanimous wish of the party that I should contest the county associated with Mr. McFarlane. I replied that I was ready to do all that I could to aid the party, but I could not become a candidate as it would ruin me professionally to be so long absent from the county. They replied that I was a warm friend of Mr. Johnstone's and his success might depend upon my action, as they felt assured they could carry the county if I would run, but Howe and Fulton would be returned unopposed if I declined, as it was the only chance. This decided me; but I stipulated that I should be at liberty to resign after the election if my presence was not necessary to a majority.

"On May 1 I published a card to the electors announcing myself a candidate, as follows:

"'TO THE ELECTORS OF THE COUNTY OF CUMBERLAND:

"'GENTLEMEN,

"'At the instance of very many of you, and in accordance with the general feeling expressed throughout the County, that its interests in the Assembly should be represented by Members resident amongst us, I beg to announce myself a Candidate for your suffrages at the approaching Election.

"'A native of the County, and identified with its interests by many ties, I will yield to none in an ardent desire to promote the prosperity and well-being of Cumberland and her people. The very unusual course adopted by the Government of selecting the early period of seed-time for this exercise of your constitutional privilege deprives me of the opportunity of personally visiting every section

of the County. I shall, however, be prepared to explain fully at the Nomination my views upon the public topics of the day.

" ' If a deep interest in the cause of temperance, a determination to oppose the present administration in their ruinous course of granting pensions and otherwise squandering the public revenues, and to promote municipal corporations, elective councils, and other measures of progress opposed by the Party in power, for extending the privileges of the people ; if a desire on my part, as one of yourselves, to represent your views and wishes in the Parliament of my native Province, can supply any grounds for your support, I shall confidently rely upon you at the Polls and feel grateful for your suffrages.

" ' In appearing as a candidate from the western part of this County, I am happy to announce that I have assurances of extensive support by the friends of Mr. Macfarlane and myself in the east.

" ' I beg to subscribe myself, Gentlemen,

" ' Your obliged and faithful servant,

" ' CHARLES TUPPER.

" 'AMHERST, *May* 1, 1855.'

" Taking a pair of horses and a light wagon which I used in my practice, I started for Advocate Harbour, the west end of the county. Going there and returning I visited as many of the electors as the brief period at my disposal would admit. Before leaving Amherst I called upon Judge Haliburton (Sam Slick) who had come there to preside at the session of the Supreme Court. He said : ' I hear, Dr. Tupper, that you are to be a candidate at this election.' I said I had been foolish enough to do so.

" ' Allow me,' said the judge, ' as an old politician, to give you a little advice. Never allow an elector to suppose you require his support to insure your success, or he will be certain to vote against you.'

" I acted upon that advice, and where I met persons who would only give one vote to our side, I requested them to give that vote to my colleague Mr. McFarlane.

" On returning to Amherst I stopped opposite to the house of Mr. John Baker, a very strong Liberal, and went in to his tannery opposite to see a Mr. Sharp, who was in his

employment. Sharp, whose wife was one of my patients, at once promised his vote. As I was returning to the wagon I met Mr. Baker, his face blazing with indignation at my audacity in canvassing a man in his employment. I said: 'Mr. Baker, I am a candidate for the county, and will be glad to have your support.' He replied fiercely: 'You won't get it—I will do all I can to oppose you.' I replied: 'You need not be so angry; I do not need your vote, but I thought you might wish to go with the crowd,' and jumping into my wagon, I drove on.

"I also met during the election Dr. Inglis, the Bishop of Nova Scotia, who said: 'Dr. Tupper, I am told you are entering public life. Let me advise you never to be on non-speaking terms with any public man, or the time will come when you will find that it will conflict with the public interest.' I thanked his Lordship, and now, after a long public career, deeply regret that I did not always act upon his suggestion, of the value of which I am now fully convinced. I may also add, as the result of many years' experience of public life, the importance of public men, however strongly opposed, never losing sight of the fact that the exigency of public affairs may at some time compel them to act together. One of my strongest opponents was my dear wife, who expressed the earnest hope that I would be defeated. She, however, sat at the open window of a brick house occupied by a friend on the nomination day. It was a long way from the hustings at the side of the Court House where we stood in the open air, but my voice could then be heard at a great distance. The nomination took place at 2 o'clock. There was a great concourse of people, not only from all parts of the county but also from Westmoreland, the border county of New Brunswick.

"The Hon. Mr. Fulton, who was then a member of the Government, and Mr. McFarlane spoke briefly, and Mr. Howe and I spoke an hour each alternately until sunset. When I joined my wife to return home, she said: 'Is it

not a dreadful prospect for us to be separated during the long period you will be absent attending the Legislature every winter at Halifax ?' I said : 'Do not borrow trouble; perhaps I may be defeated.' She replied : 'But I do not wish you to be defeated now.' I said : 'Well, I have made one very important convert to-day, and I take it as an omen of success.'

"On May 22, 1855, at the close of the poll, I had a majority of 212 over Howe and 250 over Fulton. McFarlane, my colleague, was also elected, but by a smaller majority. Mr. Howe, on his return to Halifax, on being chaffed by his friends for allowing a Cumberland boy to defeat him, replied : 'You will soon discover that I have been defeated by the leader of the Conservative party.'

"Subsequently, on the floor of the House he gave a very humorous account of his defeat in Cumberland. He said he had not been defeated by politics but by medicine. His former supporters told him they would gladly support him against anyone but Tupper. One said he had saved his wife's life, another that of his child, and another that he would have been in his grave but for him, and so on *ad infinitum*.

"My old friend and teacher, Jonathan McCully, took an active part against me in that contest. He induced a man who owed him seventy pounds to promise to vote for Mr. Howe, and after the vote was given to me McCully called upon him for payment. The man's wife went with him to settle the debt. Mr. McCully said : 'Mr. Holmes, I have not pressed you on account of the way you voted, but you told me a lie; you promised to vote for Mr. Howe and you voted for Tupper.' His wife, not liking to hear her husband accused of falsehood, spoke up and said : 'Mr. McCully, Mr. Holmes had a very good mind to vote for Mr. Howe, but he only sees you occasionally and he has to live with me.'"

The defeat of Mr. Howe was the only triumph of the Conservative party in the struggle of 1855. Immediately after

hearing of Dr. Tupper's victory Mr. Johnstone sent him the following letter of congratulation :

"I congratulate you and sympathise with your wife in your triumph. Howe, I hear, concurs with all others in giving credit to your ability in the field in the various pitched battles and skirmishes that occurred during the short but active campaign that preceded the 22nd.

"I incline to the belief that Young in his secret heart thanks you for extinguishing Howe's political life—at least his legislative existence. Howe may live on, but a defeat like that he has suffered affects his prestige as a man of the people in a way not to be restored."

During the two previous sessions Messrs. Killam and Moses, of Yarmouth, and Dr. Brown, of Horton, had left the Liberal party in opposition to Mr. Howe's railway policy. In the election of 1855 only fifteen Conservatives and three Independents were elected out of a House of fifty-two.

Dr. Tupper was Mr. Howe's junior by seventeen years, and Mr. Johnstone's by twenty-one years. In person he was of medium height, straight, muscular, wiry, and had intense nervous energy which gave him quickness of movement and ceaseless mental activity. The county was large, and in both winter and summer the roads were good, bad and indifferent. In his sleigh, carriage or saddle he went from place to place, sometimes in deep and drifted snow, and at other times in mud more difficult than the worst snowdrifts. In his twelve years of practice, before he was called into the sphere of politics, mountainous obstacles became a level plain, and toil and exposure the highest enjoyment. With a spirit that knew no discouragement, saw no difficulties, and a body well seasoned by twelve years of labour, he decided, temporarily, to enter the political arena.

For years Dr. Tupper had indulged the ambition to help Mr. Johnstone, whose name had been a household word in his father's home, and never before had J. W. Johnstone felt, as he did at this time, the need of a man of special talent among his followers.

CHAPTER III

POLITICS IN NOVA SCOTIA (1856—57)

THE Legislature was summoned for the dispatch of business on January 31, 1856. On January 30 Mr. Johnstone invited his supporters to meet him for consultation at the lodgings of Mr. Thorne, member for Granville, in Hollis Street, Halifax. He requested a frank expression of their opinions as to the cause of the reverses sustained at the recent elections, and suggestions as to the best policy to be pursued. Various causes were assigned by the members from different parts of the province. Mr. Johnstone then called attention to the signal victory achieved in the redemption of Cumberland by the defeat of Messrs. Howe and Fulton, and said they would all like to hear Dr. Tupper's opinion of the situation.

Dr. Tupper said he feared it would be considered great presumption on his part, as the youngest member of the House, if he should tell them that, in his opinion, the policy hitherto pursued was fatal to success. If the mission of the Conservative party was to criticise the action of the Government in and out of the Legislature, well and good; but if they were ever to obtain power it was necessary that it should be radically changed; that the course pursued in the past had caused the alienation of the entire Catholic vote throughout the province, and as they formed one-fifth of the population and controlled nine seats in the Legislature, they held the balance of power. Dr. Tupper thought the policy of equal rights for all, without respect to race or creed, should be boldly proclaimed, and a thoroughly progressive policy adopted.

Many of the members evinced some consternation as Dr. Tupper proceeded, and evidently expected an explosion from Mr. Johnstone, who was known to be a very high-tempered man. To their great surprise, he said:

"Gentlemen, I am afraid there is too much truth in what Dr. Tupper has said; but I am too old to change front, and I think the best thing we can do is to give Dr. Tupper *carte blanche* to remodel the Conservative policy."

His proposition was agreed to, and from that hour Dr. Tupper became the virtual leader of the Conservative party. He declared his belief that while building railways by companies was sound in principle, and perhaps the better policy, yet he thought all hostility to the railway policy of the Government should be abandoned.

At that time the individuality of Dr. Tupper was as unique and pronounced as it ever was in any stage of his long political career. Then, the fear of man, fear that engenders submission or cowardice, was to him a mere sound, utterly without meaning. His courage was leonine and unyielding. It is enough to say that he was endowed with his father's memory. His prescience never trod the slow, weary way of the logician. He got to his conclusions by a process so swift that it may be called intuition. His mental equipment was of such a character that no side of a subject was out of sight or obscure. Without being logically conscious of it, essential principles were the pillars of his political heavens. He would not attempt to undermine them; and against any man or party who did undertake it, in the twinkling of an eye his mental artillery's hottest fire was trained. Accumulations of the knowledge of provincial politics were packed away in his capacious memory, ever ready to serve him both in private and public. In his mind the law of suggestion was sensitive, alert and vigorous. In action he belonged to the present throbbing days of steam and electricity. As he

first appeared on the streets of Halifax, his erect symmetrical person and rapid motion attracted public attention. No words were wasted in his business transactions, and there was with him in that day of leisure a marked economy of time.

Mr. Howe was not in the House during the session of 1856, and the leadership of the Liberal party fell into the hands of William Young. New life, new action, appeared along the red benches and throughout the country. Promptitude, swiftness, energy, directness were called into life by language flowing from a reservoir under high pressure. Howe did not envy Mr. Young his task of beating back the Tories led by this daring youth, whose speech was as rapid as a maxim-gun, and whose metallic voice carried his positive and emphatic utterances into all ears, quick or dull. Every syllable was pronounced and every word was distinctly heard.

When the House assembled on January 31, 1856, confronting the Government was an Opposition of only fifteen members. This made the work of the session appear easy and plain; but, as in many another case, appearances were deceptive. On the fourth day Dr. Tupper made his first speech in the new House. It was in connection with the appointment of a railway committee.

The Conservative party, not having confidence in the financial ability of the province to bear the expense of railway construction, had for the last five years determinedly opposed the policy of the Government. Now, however, as the country was fully committed to it, the Opposition changed front, and according to Dr. Tupper's declaration at the private meeting of the Conservative party, he gave his support to the Government's plan and at once entered into the advocacy of wise and economical methods. The substance of his speech is given here as an expression of the stand he took from the first in the deliberations of the Assembly:

"While I am addressing the House I may say that if this Committee is to be appointed I trust that its functions may be properly understood. I trust that if the railroad is now to proceed—as for our own credit it must proceed—this House will not be denuded of its power of regulating the route which shall be chosen. I have no idea that the Committee now to be chosen shall interfere with the question of cutting down a hill or going round it; but I do ask that their duties shall be of a substantial character. The Legislature has given to the Government the power to construct the railway, and the Government have appointed the Commissioners; therefore, as regards the question of accounts, I take for granted this House will hold both responsible, and neither absolve the one nor relieve the other. And I trust it will not be found, as has been asserted in the Press, that Cumberland is to be excluded from the benefit of this new accompaniment of civilisation—the railroad. That we are to have it now is no longer a question. The policy of having railroads, and railroads by Government, is now settled; but I trust that policy may be made subservient to the interest of the country at large. I have been happy to hear a rumour (of which the Government may give us more information than I possess, but which, I hope, may be correct) that the hon. and learned Attorney-General of New Brunswick, who passed through this city a few days ago, has tangible proof that New Brunswick will soon be ready to proceed with a railway through that Province, to connect us with our brethren there—with the United States and Canada; and I hope that before any minor matter as to whether the track shall go through Stewiacke or Gay's River be taken into consideration—the great question of connecting us with the whole continent shall employ our earnest attention. I approve of the Committee, and trust that the eastern part of the Province will be well represented on it."

Mr. William Young, the Premier, was light-hearted in looking forward to the work of the session. With keen sarcasm inquiries were playfully made whether or not there was an Opposition, but at an early day in the session this humour came to an end. The impact on the Government's policies by the new debater produced a seriousness felt by every man in the House, whether an opposer or a supporter of the Government. In discussing the dismissal of a sheriff of Cumberland County, Dr. Tupper made an early declara-

tion of his principles, while at the same time he warned the Government of the danger of pursuing a high-handed course in dismissing men from office. He said :

"I did not come here to play the game of follow my leader. I did not come here the representative of any particular party, bound to vote contrary to my own convictions, but to perform honestly and fearlessly to the best of my ability, my duty to my country. In the past I have seen measures, which lie at the root of all our prosperity and freedom, burked because they emanated from the leader of the Opposition ; nor have the measures of the Government always received a dispassionate hearing from the Opposition. Whenever the measures of the Government commend themselves to my judgment, I shall not hesitate to support them."

At the close of a speech of two and a half hours' length, in which the actions of the Government were rigidly scrutinised, Mr. Johnstone delicately made known what had taken place in Mr. Thorne's lodgings before the House opened. He told the House and the country that Dr. Tupper should be regarded as the virtual leader of the Conservative party.

In an earlier Parliament Mr. Johnstone had introduced a Bill for an elective Legislative Council, which had received the favourable consideration of the House. When the Legislature had been in session scarcely four months in 1856, Dr. Tupper, with a view of taking up the Legislative Council Bill, moved the House into Committee of the Whole on the general state of the province. The Government was at once put on the defensive, and its weakness became apparent.

The result of storming the Government's citadel in the first month of the Assembly's duration came to light when the vote was taken, a vote understood to be one of non-confidence in the Administration. Mr. McKeagney voted against the Government. Mr. McKinnon resigned his seat in the Government and voted with the Opposition. Mr. James McLeod, who at the time was ill at his lodgings in the city, wrote a letter, which was read in the House, in

which he also resigned his seat in the Cabinet and expressed his decision to vote with the Opposition.

This division, at an early stage under the new leader, showed the relative strength to be twenty-eight for the Government and twenty-two for the Opposition. Such, at the end of one month, was the outcome of Dr. Tupper's leadership.

Of his first year in the House of Assembly, Sir Charles's journal contains these records:

"I took the earliest suitable opportunity of announcing my opinions in favour of the construction of railways, and made no secret of my opinions of equal rights for all, without respect to race or creed.

"It was arranged that my colleague, Mr. McFarlane, should move a resolution in favour of 'the expediency of applying the principle of election to the appointment of members of the Legislative Council.' I led the debate, and was recognised by the Government as the leader of our party.

"A Bill practically prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor, which I warmly supported, was deferred by a vote of the House until the next session. The Hon. Mr. Young introduced a Bill, entitled, 'An Act for the Better Encouragement of Education.' This Bill was read a second time on the 24th March, and thereupon he, Mr. Young, who was the leader of the House, moved the following resolution:

"'Whereas the principle of assessment is the only permanent foundation for the common school education of the country, and as this principle is the only leading feature of the Bill now under consideration, and the details may be modified and improved: Resolved therefore that the Bill entitled "An Act for the Better Encouragement of Education" be referred to a select committee with instructions to consider the same and report thereon by a short day.'

"This resolution was carried by a vote of 37 against 9. I voted in favour of the resolution. It was, however, never

taken up during the session. My impression is that Mr. Young found that his Roman Catholic supporters would oppose the Bill if it did not provide for separate schools, and that the Protestant Liberals would not consent to that.

"The Hon. Mr. Johnstone proposed a resolution providing for the management of local affairs by a municipal council, which was defeated by a vote of 24 in favour and 27 against. I voted in favour.

"The initiation of money votes only by the Government not having been adopted, I moved the following resolution:

"'Resolved that the Executive Government be authorised to direct the construction of a steamer wharf at Parrsborough by the Railway Commissioners at their discretion, to facilitate travel and traffic from Westmoreland and Cumberland over the Windsor line of railway.'

"This was carried by seventeen in favour to twelve against.

"The following year this work was executed under the authority of the Government of which I was a member.

"During the session I was appointed chairman of a committee on the Jury Law, and after consulting with Sir Brenton Haliburton, the Chief Justice, and Judge Bliss, I reported a Bill to enable seven out of twelve jurors in civil cases to give a verdict, which became law.

"Mr. Howe, after his defeat in Cumberland, was appointed Chairman of the Railway Commission, and after the close of the session of the Legislature of 1856, Mr. Lewis M. Wilkins, the Provincial Secretary, was appointed to a judgeship in the Supreme Court, and Hon. Mr. Howe was duly elected to represent Hants County.

"During the summer of 1856 Hon. Mr. Howe went to New York to enlist recruits for the British Government in the Crimean War. He was strongly criticised by a Roman Catholic, Mr. Condon, holder of a petty office, who was subsequently dismissed by the Government. A sharp controversy followed, and Mr. Howe, who was greatly annoyed at

the support the Conservatives received from the Catholics during the previous session, assumed a very defiant attitude towards the Catholic body. Overtures were then made by him indirectly to Mr. Johnstone and myself to join him and form a Coalition Government. After the support we had received from the Catholics I felt such a course would be dishonourable, and violate the principle of equal rights to all which I had announced as our policy.

"I also wrote to Mr. P. S. Hamilton, the editor of the *Acadian Recorder,* at that time supporting us, and showing why it should take the same course.

"In that letter I expressed the opinion that Howe and the Government would be defeated in the House, and if they obtained a dissolution, which they were then threatening, they would be defeated in the country, as Cumberland was a very Protestant county. I thought we might be defeated there, but my friend Mr. Johnstone would obtain power and I could return to my profession, which would be most satisfactory to me. The *Acadian Recorder* at once complied with my wishes.

"I wrote at the same time to Mr. Johnstone, who concurred in the policy I proposed. When the House met on the 5th of February, 1857, Mr. Johnstone, without waiting for the customary bill *pro forma,* moved a vote of no confidence in amendment to the motion to adopt the first clause of the answer to the address on the 6th of February, which, after a most acrimonious discussion, was carried on the 13th of February by a vote of 28—22.

"I wrote an editorial for the *British Colonist* strongly attacking Mr. Howe and the Government for raising a war of creeds, and advising all Conservatives to withhold their support from any such movement. The *British Colonist* was the organ of our party published by Mr. Alpin Grant, who was to the end of his life one of my most ardent supporters."

The editorial referred to by Sir Charles was published

on February 10, while the debate on Mr. Johnstone's non-confidence motion was under discussion, and was an example of Sir Charles's journalistic efforts of this period. An extract from it is here quoted :

"When, some five weeks ago, the Howe-Annand firebrand was thrown in the midst of the community, and the emissaries of those parties were deputised to kindle a flame throughout the Province, after simply and briefly expressing our individual opinion of the movement, an abiding confidence in the honour and integrity of the party with whom we are associated, induced us to suspend all further observations on the topic in order to give the Conservatives an opportunity, without any advice or dictation from the Press, of arriving at their own conclusions. In doing so, we never mistrusted for an instant that they would uphold the character we have ever maintained for them, and declare themselves the unswerving advocates of civil and religious liberty and of equal rights and privileges to all. So they have come up, from one extreme of the Province to the other, to prove that the estimation we had formed of them, and they of each other, was sound and correct—and a solid phalanx they stand arrayed at this moment, a terror to the party demagogues and would-be tyrants of the land. Animated, as it were, by one common impulse, they arose like a giant, attacked the presumptuous despots, and hurled them back into the abyss of contempt and insignificance. Not a single man amongst all the Conservatives whose minds Mr. Howe supposed for the last ten months he had been slowly poisoning, has joined in his no-Popery cry ; but, on the contrary, the party are united to a man in deprecating and denouncing the author of so base and treacherous a plot."

The members from counties controlled by Roman Catholics voted with the Conservatives. The Hon. W. A. Henry, Provincial Secretary, sent Mr. Compton to negotiate terms on which he would join the Conservatives, but Dr. Tupper refused, saying Mr. Henry's statesmanship must be his guide. The latter then resigned his office and voted against the Government.

Mr. Johnstone was sent for to form a Cabinet, and offered Dr. Tupper the principal office, that of Provincial Secretary. Dr. Tupper told him that having attained, in

his (Mr. Johnstone's) restoration to power, the object that alone induced him to enter public life, he would prefer to decline and continue his professional work, and retire altogether from the Legislature at the first general election. Mr. Johnstone told Dr. Tupper that unless he would take office he would not attempt to form a Government. Dr. Tupper then decided to embark fully upon the troubled sea of politics, and was sworn into office as Provincial Secretary on Monday, February 23, 1857.

Sir Charles says in his journal:

"Mr. James Fullerton was nominated to oppose my return for Cumberland, and Mr. William Young came into the county and conducted the campaign against me. The anti-Catholic cry was raised, but after a severe struggle I was returned by a majority of 137, and took my seat in the House on the 4th of April. I resided during the session with my friend Dr. Parker. It was at his house that the discussion with Mr. Johnstone on the formation of our Government took place, and he, as a warm mutual friend, was cognisant of all that occurred. When Mr. Johnstone pressed me to become a member of his Government I told him that I held very strong views upon the long-vexed question of the mines and minerals of Nova Scotia being beyond the control of the Government and Legislature, owing to the improvident lease granted by the Imperial Government to the Duke of York, and that I thought he should resign his position of solicitor to the General Mining Association, who held the coal mines under that lease. Mr. Johnstone agreed with me and promptly resigned that position, and on the 16th of April moved a resolution authorising the Government to send two delegates, representing both sides of the House, with power to settle the question, provided both should agree, subject to the ratification of the Legislature. This resolution was carried, and I addressed the following letter to Mr. Adams Archibald, the Solicitor-General of the late Government:

"'HALIFAX, *May* 22, 1857.

"'MY DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to communicate the unanimous wish of the Executive Government to appoint you a delegate in conjunction with the Hon. Attorney-General, to proceed to England, should that be necessary, to negotiate the settlement of the matters in controversy with the General Mining Association. We expect to hear by the next steamer from England on this subject, and it is not unlikely that it will be desirable that the delegates should go at an early day thereafter. The Executive Government believe that in obtaining your services they will at the same time be consulting the public interests as also evincing the confidence which they feel in you as every way qualified and worthy to discharge efficiently a duty so important. . . . Hoping to have an affirmative reply at your convenience,

"'Believe me ever

"'Yours faithfully,

"'(Signed) "'C. TUPPER.'

"Mr. Archibald accepted the position, and shortly afterwards the Hon. Mr. Johnstone and he proceeded to England and made arrangements with the General Mining Association, which were submitted to the Legislature in the following session, 1858, and adopted. The Opposition, with the exception of Mr. Archibald, voted against the arrangement, which has since been regarded with universal favour. Thus was the improvident lease given by the Imperial Government to the Duke of York and Albany terminated, and the control of the mines and minerals handed over to the Provincial Government.

"I had supported the prohibitory resolution proposed in the session of 1856, but the Bill was deferred. In the meantime, the Act of New Brunswick, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, was carried. The operation, or rather non-operation, of the law was attended with such unsatisfactory results that I announced at my ministerial election that I would not in future support prohibitory legislation.

"I also supported in 1857 the legislation providing for the Municipal Government of Counties."

CHAPTER IV

DEFENDER OF THE CONSTITUTION (1858—61)

J. W. JOHNSTONE and A. G. Archibald, when in England in 1857 on the mission to settle the Mines and Minerals question, brought the matter of the importance of an intercolonial railway before the Colonial Secretary, but nothing of importance was accomplished. On their return Dr. Tupper opened correspondence with the other British provinces for the purpose of securing their co-operation in negotiations with the British Government to secure financial aid in building this intercolonial highway. In this correspondence Canada was asked if there were a prospect of beginning the road at an early day; if so, the projected connection of Truro with Pictou by rail would be deferred for the time; but if not, that work would be begun at once. By means of that line Halifax would be connected with Quebec and Montreal by steamers from Pictou. New Brunswick was informed that in case the Government declined to begin at once the building of the Intercolonial Railway, the Nova Scotia Government would complete the road from Truro to the borders of New Brunswick, if New Brunswick would build it from that point to the Canadian border. The reply from Sir Edmund Head, Governor-General, to Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was to the effect that the Canadian Government was in favour of the undertaking.

During the session of 1858 the Conservatives passed an Act giving effect to the agreement respecting Mines and Minerals, providing for the inspection and operation of

mines; also Acts for establishing the boundary line between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, for the management of the Hospital for the Insane, and to regulate licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

The Hon. Dr. Grigor, a member of the Legislative Council holding the office of Surgeon-General of the Militia of the Province, having died, Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, the Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief, sent Dr. Tupper a commission dated February 21, 1858, appointing him Surgeon-General of the Militia of Nova Scotia. Dr. Tupper promptly resigned the office, and at his request it was conferred on Dr. Rufus Black.

Lord Mulgrave succeeded Sir Gaspard Le Marchant as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. At his request Dr. Tupper in 1858, after the end of the session, accompanied him on a tour through Eastern Nova Scotia to Cape Breton.

At the request of the Government of Canada, Dr. Tupper was appointed with W. A. Henry and R. B. Dickey, as representatives of Nova Scotia, to go with G. E. Cartier, A. T. Galt and John Rose as delegates to England on the question of the Intercolonial Railway. The Hon. Charles Fisher, leader of the Government of New Brunswick, and A. J. Smith represented that province.

Of this visit Sir Charles writes:

"Sailed on the S.S. *Asia*. When on mid-Atlantic dreamed that I saw the wife of the Hon. M. B. Almon, who told me that my wife was dangerously ill. It was so real that I wrote it down with the date. When I reached Liverpool I wrote to my wife telling her the dream and the date, and saying I was ashamed of being so disturbed by a dream, as she had never had any serious illness, but that I should feel uneasy until I heard from her. She wrote to me on the same day from Halifax, and our letters crossed each other on mid-ocean, telling me that on the night in question she had been dangerously ill and that Mrs. Almon remained with her all night. That was the

only occasion that Mrs. Almon ever spent a night in our house.

"When a boy I was much impressed by the novels of Bulwer Lytton and Disraeli, and often thought I would like much to see the authors. On this, my first delegation to the Imperial Government, Lytton was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"When we waited upon the Colonial Minister, he said that he must refer the question of aid to an Intercolonial Railway to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and advised us to see him. I said: 'Sir Edward, are we in a position to say that you approve of aid being given to this work?' He replied: 'You may say that I regard this question as one entering into Imperial considerations.' Mr. Disraeli professed great interest in the question, but the Government could not be induced to make any positive engagement.

"During our stay in London I saw a good deal of Lytton at his house near Hyde Park Corner, where I dined with a large party. He occupied the house at the Piccadilly corner of Park Lane. Sir Bulwer went with Mr. Henry, Mr. Fisher and myself to Windsor Castle, when we were presented to the Queen. Mr. Fisher raised the question of precedence when told that I was to be presented first, as he was Premier of New Brunswick. Sir Bulwer said: 'The Province of Nova Scotia is the oldest, and Dr. Tupper must therefore have precedence.' We were received at the Castle by John Brown, who presented a book in which we inscribed our names. Sir Bulwer went in first, and when he came out I was announced by Lord Byron, who presented me to the Queen, who received me very graciously and gave me her hand to kiss. I then had a short conversation with Prince Albert. The Prince Consort was the only other person in the room. After the presentation we lunched with Lord Byron and the ladies-in-waiting.

"As we had to wait four hours at Windsor for a train to London, Lord Byron said: 'Sir Bulwer, I am going to show Dr. Tupper over the castle, and I will get you a book.' Sir Bulwer replied: 'Oh, I am tired of books. I have never seen the castle; I will go with you.' In going through the museum of curiosities I was much struck with his observations. When we were shown the bullet with which Nelson was killed, he said: 'It ought to have been sunk to the bottom of the ocean instead of being honoured with a place here.'

"We spent the time on our journey back to London discussing animal magnetism, in which he believed fully. He was at that time engaged in writing 'A Strange Story,' which now seems much less improbable than when he wrote it. Sir Bulwer afterwards invited me to visit him at Knebworth, but to my great regret I was obliged to decline, as I had taken my passage home.

"I went to the House of Commons to hear Sir Bulwer speak on a Bill to change a boundary in New Caledonia—as British Columbia was then called—when I heard him say: 'Some of those who now hear me will live to see a railway constructed from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean on a direct line through British territory, and large towns and villages springing up along its course.' That which I, and all those who heard him, regarded as the imagination of a brilliant writer of fiction, is now known to be the prophetic foresight of a far-seeing statesman.

"Lord Carnarvon, the fourth earl, was then Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. He invited me to spend a week at Highclere Castle. He was then but 27 years old, and unmarried. I was greatly impressed by his untiring industry and devotion to work. He was up early and went to bed late, and his former tutor, Mr. Kent, acted as his private secretary. His mother, a very interesting woman, and his brother Aubrey lived with him. Nothing could exceed his kindness to me, and our friendship only

terminated with his life. I have never known a more high-minded or conscientious statesman.

"I spent three days at Sir Samuel Cunard's country seat, where I met Mr. Blackwood, the Chief Clerk in the Colonial Office, and Mrs. Blackwood. I afterwards dined with them, when I met their son, Sir Arthur, who married the Duchess of Manchester. They were said to be the handsomest couple in England. The last time I met Sir Arthur was at the International Postal Conference at Vienna in 1891.

"When dining with Mr. Berkley, a civil engineer (who was afterwards knighted), I was asked to join a picnic excursion the next day, November 21. I said that I had promised to visit my namesake, Martin F. Tupper. Mr. Berkley replied: 'Well, I do not know whether he is a relative of yours, but he succeeded in writing the most unreadable book in the English language, Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy"—a book without beginning or end, which one would suppose had been written by a penny-a-liner.' I rejoined: 'Well, I will not quarrel with your sweeping criticism, Mr. Berkley, if you will except three chapters—those on Love, Marriage and Education are as replete with genuine sentiment, in my opinion, as anything I have ever read.'

"The next day I went to Albury House, Guildford, where I met with a very cordial reception. After breakfast the next morning they took me to see St. Margaret's Church, which had recently been restored. It stands upon a high ridge of land overlooking Albury House, which the Tuppers had occupied more than a hundred years. In the body of the chapel are two raised graves, which formed the centre-piece in a novel, 'Stephen Langton,' which Mr. Tupper then had in the press. He gave me an advance copy. It is a very improbable story in two volumes, and contains the history of Archbishop Langton and Magna Charta. As we returned to Albury House I asked Mr. Tupper how

he came to write such an extraordinary book as 'Proverbial Philosophy.' He said: 'Well, I will tell you. I was eighteen years old, and desperately in love with that woman' (pointing to his wife who with one of her daughters was walking a short distance in front of us) 'when I wrote the three chapters on Love, Marriage and Education. They were six years in her possession before any other eye saw them. Some time after we were married she showed them to Messrs. Hurst and Blackett, publishers, who said: "These are very clever. Why does not your husband write a book?" They sent for me and induced me to write the rest of the book to match those chapters. I used to write on the back of an envelope or anything else at hand, wherever I was, until I had completed the task.'

"Destitute of popularity as that work has become, the fact remains that it was translated and published in five languages, and more copies of it were sold in London than of any other book except the Bible. I asked Mr. Tupper also how he came to write the 'The Crock of Gold.' He told me that finding the gardener who had been long employed at Albury House digging in the garden, he said to the old man: '"You have not dug up a pot of gold, have you?" He replied: "No, master, and I don't want to." I said: "Why not?" He answered: "Because I am now happy and contented, but if I found a crock of gold it would change my manner of living for one for which I am quite unfitted."' Mr. Tupper said: 'This idea took hold of me, and I wrote "The Crock of Gold" so continuously that my hand became quite swollen.' If Warren's 'Now and Then' is not a plagiarism of Tupper's 'Crock of Gold,' it is a remarkable illustration of the adage that 'Great minds jump together.' Mr. Tupper showed me a number of presents given him by the Queen and other members of the Royal Family, for whom he had written children's plays to be acted at Windsor, and among other things an autograph letter from the Iron Duke offering a

baronetcy to his father, a London physician. The last time I saw him the family were residing near the Crystal Palace.

"Some time previously, when his daughter was reading to him she observed that he took no notice and found that he was unconscious. He recovered the use of his speech and memory, but a lesion of the brain remained, so that when he was talking with me he would be unable to find the word he wanted, when he would call his daughter and, repeating the previous words, she would at once supply the word required, and he would go on with the conversation."

The following letters from Martin Tupper reveal how the meeting between him and the representative of the family from Nova Scotia was brought about:

ALBURY, GUILDFORD, SURREY,
November 15, 1858.

DEAR SIR—AND VERY POSSIBLE COUSIN,—You should have heard before from the undersigned, had he been earlier returned from travel; but in truth I and my family have been touring for four months. And now my errand is to offer you, as a supposed kinsman, a due modicum of friendship and hospitality—if you like to take up my glove. I send this note at a venture, ignorant of your exact whereabouts, but conclude that it will reach you; and if and when it does, I request to hear from your courtesy when you may like to spend a day with me in the country. On the receipt of your answer I will further tell you exactly the how of railway trains, and the when of social conveniency.

Trusting that this familiar challenge may not be unpleasant to you and cousinship taken for granted (seeing that ancestors of mine migrated to America after religious persecution in Germany in the sixteenth century),

I remain, dear Sir,
Very truly yours,
(Signed) MARTIN F. TUPPER.

ALBURY, GUILDFORD,
November 19, 1858.

MY DEAR COUSIN,—I am glad indeed at the prospect of such a meeting, our families not having so fraternised for two hundred years. Now, then, when can you come? and for how long? Shall we say

Tuesday—bringing your valise for a spell of "bed" as well as "board"? Or are you haply too much occupied to spare more than the bare day ticket? Come for a night if you can at all events. The way is from London Bridge terminus S.E.R. Reading branch to Chilworth, where I will meet you in my pony carriage, if you will tell me by return of post the day and hour of your coming. I think there is a nine o'clock out of London, or a quarter to, which reaches Chilworth at about 11; but consult the last Bradshaw. And so we'll make it out together comfortably and know each other at home, as the schoolboys say—and will compare ancestral traditions and modern prospects. Here's a vignette of Albury for you; but don't raise your expectations; we are humble folk, and roses (now at their shabbiest) are our chief glory. I see you retain the old family crest and motto; my girls are curious to know whether you are related to one Eddie Tupper of Canada, who once came hither as a possible cousin. Write then and say that you will be with us at Chilworth by 11 or so on Tuesday.

Yours heartily,
(Signed) MARTIN F. TUPPER.

THE HON. C. TUPPER.

The visit to London is further described in the journal:

"During my stay in London I dined with Mr. Bates, the American partner of Messrs. Baring Brothers. He had just returned from a three weeks' visit to Louis Napoleon, then Emperor. Mr. Bates said Louis Napoleon was a great fatalist. Years before, when he was a penniless exile in London, just after his escape from prison at Ham, he was dining with Mr. Bates at his house in Park Lane. Mr. Bates had a country seat near Windsor Castle. His daughter, who was a great favourite with the Queen, had married Baron van de Wayer, the Belgian Minister. After dinner the Prince said he would like a game of cards. As they had only returned from their country seat the day before, they could not find the cards. The Prince said he would go out and get them. Baron van de Wayer accompanied him. As they were on the way to Oxford Street the Prince put his hand on the Baron's shoulder, and said: 'Two years from this night I will be at the head

of France.' The Baron, thinking he was joking, said: 'Prince, do you authorise me to make that statement the subject of a dispatch to my Government?' The Prince replied: 'Baron, you may make it what you please—I mean what I say.' The Belgian Minister made it the subject of a dispatch to his Government, and two years from that night Louis Napoleon was elected President of the French Republic."

Although departmental Government responsible to the majority of the Assembly had been established in Nova Scotia, equality of representation could not be said to exist where small townships returned twenty-two members in a House of fifty-two. The Government felt bound, therefore, to remedy this inequality, although they had nothing to gain by such an act, as they had the support of fourteen of the members of townships.

A Bill was brought in at the opening of the session of 1859 abolishing the township representation except in Yarmouth and Shelburne, and largely equalising the franchise in the counties. This measure was denounced by the Opposition, but when they obtained power they did not alter it.

The House was dissolved in 1859. The election contest which followed was one of the fiercest ever held in Nova Scotia.

"The proscription of the Roman Catholics by the combining Protestant sects" was the ugly battle-cry emblazoned on the Liberal standard before and during this election. Having taken ground so indefensible, and having adopted a principle so opposed to Liberal teaching, it followed that the means employed in a canvass to advocate them would be of a kindred character. They are easily imagined. Instinctively the leaders went to ecclesiastical history. It contained no lack of material to aid in this most disgraceful of all political campaigns known to Nova Scotia. The eastern part of the province was a favourable place in which to exploit the fiery doctrine of "Down with

the Roman Catholics." Scotland's gory records, then centuries old, were made to live again and inflame the passions of men from the Highlands and the Lowlands of that war-scarred country.

The result of the contest was the election of twenty-six members to support the Government and twenty-eight for the Opposition.

The Hon. William Young, Attorney-General, who had led the opposition to Dr. Tupper at his Ministerial election, was his opponent in 1859. The county of Cumberland then had three representatives. After a fierce contest Mr. Young, Dr. Tupper and his colleague Mr. McFarlane were elected. At the close of a scrutiny between Mr. McFarlane and Mr. Fulton, Mr. Young led the poll by one vote over Dr. Tupper. The numbers returned by the sheriff for the whole province gave a majority of three votes to the Liberals, but five of their number were known to be disqualified by law from sitting or voting. Lord Mulgrave called upon the Crown Officers, the Hon. Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Henry, to make a statement of the case, which he sent to the Duke of Newcastle in order to obtain the opinion of the Crown Officers in England. His Grace sent Lord Mulgrave the opinion of Sir Richard Bethell and Sir Henry S. Keating, that the disqualification was indisputable, and advised a dissolution if it was attempted to create a majority by their votes.

The Legislature was summoned for the dispatch of business on January 26, 1860. The Liberals elected the Speaker, and then, having voted down any inquiry as to the notorious disqualification of five of their party, carried a vote of no confidence in the Government by a majority of two. The Governor having refused a dissolution, the Conservatives resigned February 7, 1860, and the Hon. Mr. Young formed a Government.

So strong were Dr. Tupper's convictions respecting the illegality of the five members holding their seats in the House of Assembly, notwithstanding the course taken by

the Lieutenant-Governor, that he addressed a memorial to the Colonial Secretary which the reader will not condemn because of its lack of animated seriousness, force and indignation. The battle had been long and fierce. To it Mr. Johnstone had contributed his astute legal diplomacy, his laborious efforts as a constitutional lawyer and peerless advocate. The ground on which Mr. Johnstone rested his views as to the illegality of members holding seats was in the fact that the Colonial Secretary referred the case to the Law Officers of the Crown, whose finding was as follows:

"We think, in a similar case occurring in the Mother Country, the election would be held void by the House of Commons.

"Such an attempt on the part of the Assembly as that suggested, to set the law at defiance, would deprive its acts of that consideration they would otherwise be entitled to, and render it necessary for the Crown to put an end to its existence."

The following is Dr. Tupper's letter to the Duke of Newcastle:

My Lord Duke,—Mr. Johnstone, the leader of the Opposition, on behalf of a vast majority of the Electors of this Province, as is shown by the poll books of the last General Election, memorialised your Grace in reference to the unconstitutional refusal of Lord Mulgrave to dissolve the Assembly upon the advice of the late Executive Council, and requested your interposition in favour of an appeal to the people.

That memorial having been delayed by the Lieutenant-Governor, it is understood that your Grace, when at Halifax, informed Mr. Johnstone that you had seen his memorial for the first time since your arrival—that any political action was inconsistent with the nature of your visit, but that you would, after your return to England, send a formal reply.

Lord Mulgrave, while distinctly refusing to give Mr. Johnstone a copy of the dispatch, informed him recently that an answer from the Colonial Office had been received, declining to interfere in the matter.

The organ of Lord Mulgrave's Government has also intimated, that his Lordship has been "heartily" sustained by the British Govern-

ment. Having held the responsible position of Provincial Secretary in the late Government, and being deeply interested as a British colonist in the character of our institutions, without stopping to notice the incongruity between the statements of your Grace and the action of the department over which you preside, I purpose to bring under your consideration some of the leading features of the case, upon which (if it be true that an appeal to the people has been denied) a decision has been made which cannot fail to induce, in these Colonies, the impression that what has been supposed to be self-government is but a delusion and a snare.

With your Grace's] permission I will briefly recount the circumstances under which Lord Mulgrave refused the advice of his Executive Council recommending an appeal to the people.

The General Election of 1859 resulted in so close a division of parties that a vote of want of confidence was carried by a majority of two only in a House of fifty-four members, half a dozen of whom on both sides were returned by majorities varying from two to twenty votes. In that majority were comprised at least four who were notoriously ineligible to sit in the Assembly, in consequence of holding offices under the Government, which excluded them by law. By the aid of these illegal votes a majority was constituted, who first negatived a resolution to permit the House to inquire into their alleged disqualification, and then passed a vote of no confidence in the Government of the country.

The Executive Council tendered their advice to his Excellency in favor of an appeal to the people against so gross an outrage of law and constitutional usage. Lord Mulgrave rejected their counsel, alleging the following reasons, which I extract from papers already in the possession of your Grace.

Did I consider that the duty devolved upon me, of determining the eligibility or ineligibility of members returned to sit in the Assembly, the arguments advanced would be unanswerable, and I should feel bound (having first ascertained that the disqualifications alleged were clearly proved) to exercise the Royal Prerogative, and appeal to the country before regarding a vote, which was passed by members not qualified to sit in the Assembly.

Did I now permit myself to decide whether these members were eligible or not, I should feel that I was usurping a power which does not belong to me.

The prerogative of the Crown, under any circumstances, to dissolve is undoubted; but its exercise is a question which must at all times demand the gravest deliberation; and in a case, such as

is the present, of an Assembly only just elected when the opinions of the electors has been so recently expressed, I think should only be resorted to under the pressure of absolute necessity, either in consequence of the impossibility of carrying on the public business, or on account of the House itself having committed some act so grossly illegal and unconstitutional as to render such a course unavoidable.

Permit me here to inquire what "necessity" could be more "absolute" than the vindication of the law and the usages of Parliament from so "grossly illegal and unconstitutional an act" as the usurpation of the functions of Government by a party dependent for their majority upon the open disregard of a plain legal enactment?

Did Lord Mulgrave mean to say that in his hands the prerogative was powerless to assert the dignity of Parliament, and enforce respect for the law, when his Government were only outvoted by a majority of two, comprising double that number whom his Excellency knew to be ineligible because they held offices under him, which disqualified them by law from being elected, and who, by their own votes, had stifled inquiry into such notorious disqualification? Had his Lordship wished to lower the functions of the representative of Her Majesty, as to admit that he was powerless to prevent the Government of the country being at any time illegally seized by ineligible parties, in defiance of the law and the usages of the Imperial Parliament (where all alleged disqualifications to sit are promptly investigated upon being brought to the notice of the Commons), I respectfully submit that it was inconsistent with the action taken previously by his Excellency, and sanctioned by your Grace.

I will not stop here to detail the unhappy consequences which have resulted from Lord Mulgrave's refusal to appeal to the people —the proved bribery, corruption and perjury, to which the party in power resorted to retain the Government thus illegally usurped, and the natural contempt for all law and authority which has thus been engendered in this Colony; but I will deal with that act on its own merits.

When Lord Mulgrave, at the close of the elections, learned that several of the members elect held offices under his Government, did he treat the question as one beyond his cognisance, and only to be dealt with by the parties directly interested, in such disregard of law? He did not. Recognising his duties as the highest executive officer in the country, to whom Her Majesty and the people over

whom he had been sent to preside naturally looked, to secure a respect for law and the maintenance of constitutional observances on the part of the legislature, his Excellency first obtained the opinion of the Crown Officers of this Province, and then he transmitted it to your Grace, requesting for his guidance the views of the law officers of the Crown in England.

Did your Grace promptly inform the Earl of Mulgrave that Parliament had the undoubted right to trample the law under foot when it suited the interests of any party, and that the Lieutenant-Governor had no power to interfere in such a case? Not at all. True to the duties and responsibilities of your high position, you obtained and forwarded to his Excellency the highest opinion on constitutional law in the British realm—that of the Crown Officers of the Empire—and sent it to the Lieutenant-Governor for his guidance.

That opinion, in the first place, stated explicitly that the office holders in question were "not legally capable of sitting and voting" in the Assembly.

Sir Richard Bethell and Mr. Keating said, in the second place, that "considering the question by analogy to the proceedings of the British House of Commons, it would be for the House, either on the report of a committee or otherwise, to pronounce the election void, or declare the candidate next upon the poll duly elected, according to the circumstances; but it has been more usual to declare the election void."

With reference to the all-important point as to the proper constitutional course to be pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor, in case a majority was obtained by the votes of these ineligible parties, illegally persisting in protecting themselves and outvoting the Government, the answer from that undoubted authority was equally explicit. They said:

"As before observed, we see nothing to prevent a member (returned by the Sheriff as duly elected) from sitting and voting, although holding the offices in question, until he has been unseated by the Assembly; but we think that such an attempt by that body as that suggested, deliberately to set the law at defiance, would deprive its acts of that consideration they would otherwise be entitled to, and render it necessary for the Crown to put an end to its existence."

In these opinions there was an entire accord between the law advisers of the Crown in England and Nova Scotia; and the transmission of the former from your Grace clothes it with the authority

of the British Government, and made it the instruction of the Crown to the representative of Her Majesty here.

If, notwithstanding all this, it be true that Lord Mulgrave has been "heartily sustained" by the British Government in his refusal to accept the advice of an Executive Council, who had never been legally outvoted, to appeal to the people in defence of the most cherished institutions of this country, and a dissolution, desired and sought by an undoubted majority of the electors of the Province, is denied them, then it is equally apparent that the same influences that obtain the appointment to a Colonial Governorship from a British ministry will be sufficient to sustain the incumbent in whatever course the caprice or self-interest of the Governor may dictate in the most important crisis.

I am constrained, my Lord, to make this remark because I learn that Lord Mulgrave has informed your Grace, in a State paper which accompanied Mr. Johnstone's memorial, that in his Excellency's opinion the result of a dissolution would have been to give the party who have illegally usurped power a large majority. I am unable to quote his Lordship verbatim, as he has refused Mr. Johnstone a copy of that paper also.

Your Grace will naturally inquire what, then, could possibly induce the Lieutenant-Governor to refuse to dissolve. His Excellency knew that the party then in opposition were dependent for a majority of two upon the open violation of the law, and that the law and the Legislature would be brought into contempt if they were permitted thus to triumph over right and legal enactment; and he was further relieved from all responsibility by the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, both in this Province and in England, and the instructions of the Crown itself, advising and directing a dissolution under the precise circumstances that had then taken place.

Humiliating as it is to reflect that we occupy such a position, I am compelled to state that I look in vain for any explanation for conduct so incomprehensible and inconsistent on the part of Lord Mulgrave, except to the insolent declaration in the organ of that party, that if he dissolved and they obtained power, their first act would be to move an address to the Crown for his recall.

I am informed that Lord Mulgrave has so far forgotten himself as to slander the late Government in a dispatch to your Grace, by the unworthy imputation that their conduct was influenced by an undue anxiety to retain the official position they held. With these

facts before your Grace, you will be able to judge with what propriety such a charge could be retorted upon his Lordship.

Can your Grace, then, wonder that every man of independent mind has anxiously awaited this decision of the British Government, to learn whether we are entirely dependent for our rights and liberties upon the despotic acts of those you reward for services elsewhere by appointing them to positions from which everybody with Colonial experience and information is excluded? We know that the past history of British North American Governors abounded with evidence, even had not Lord Sydenham placed it upon record in his correspondence, that in England "no one knows the difference between an active and supine administration of affairs in a Colony," and that "a good speech in the House of Commons, or a successful breakfast at Greenwich," would have rendered him much more distinguished than the ablest management of public affairs in Canada; yet we were not prepared to learn that the maintenance of law and conconstitutional usage could be sacrificed by a Colonial Governor in opposition to the instructions of the Crown itself, and the British Government "heartily" concur in the act.

The people of this Province have been content, my Lord, to pay a salary of fifteen thousand dollars a year to a Governor sent from England, besides a large additional sum to keep up his establishment; while the State of Maine, with twice our population, has the privilege of electing that officer from among her people and pay him but fifteen hundred dollars.

Can such a condition of things be expected to give satisfaction, with the evidence forced upon us that we have no rights worthy of a moment's consideration when weighed against the interest or convenience of a gentleman who has been useful to the imperial cabinet before coming here?

Destitute of representation in the Parliament of Britain, with our most eminent men systematically excluded from the highest position in their own country, and for which their colonial experience and training eminently fit them, it is impossible that the free spirit of the inhabitants of British North America can fail soon to be aroused to the necessity of asserting their undoubted right to have their country governed in accordance with the "well understood wishes of the people."

In conclusion, your Grace will allow me to add that should it prove true that the Colonial Office has determined to sustain the Lieutenant-Governor in the unconstitutional course pursued by him, it will become necessary to lay the subject before the Imperial Parlia-

ment, and this country will then learn whether the time has arrived when important constitutional changes have become indispensable for the acquisition of British Institutions as enjoyed in the Parent State.

I have the honor to be
Your Grace's most obedient Servant,
(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER, M.P.P.

To THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE,
Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, etc. etc. etc.

The fortunes of war had left on the shoulders of Joseph Howe the responsibility of meeting and resisting the onsets of the Conservatives, virtually led by the daring, tactful young commander from Amherst. He was the little Napoleon of the rejuvenated and awakened army of slow-moving Conservatives.

Now that the smoke and dust of those old battles have given place to a clear, historic atmosphere, in which events central, near at hand and far off come out in clear perspective, no impartial mind can feel surprised that the Cabinet memorialised the Duke of Newcastle to provide Joseph Howe a safe and honourable place into which he might retire from so stormy a future. Without such a position there was nothing left for him but to remain at the head of a decimated, discouraged army, skirmishing, retreating and advancing, having for its highest hope salvation from overwhelming defeat.

One vacancy occurred in Cumberland by the elevation of Mr. Young to the bench as Chief Justice, and another occurred in Cape Breton. To fill these places elections were held in the midwinter of 1861. On their results depended the life of Mr. Howe's Government. Cruel though it was for a man of his age to be compelled to leave his comfortable fireside in the city and go through a canvassing campaign in Cumberland, one of the roughest, stormiest counties in the province, yet it was a pressing necessity. As it was a case of life or death, the veteran statesman did

not shrink from this stern duty. Taking with him two or three of his ablest lieutenants, he dashed into the campaign, buoyant and brave.

Dr. Tupper, who had scented this battle from afar, had made diligent and careful preparation for it. He drew upon the twenty-six years of the political life of his opponent for means to weaken his power in the battle to be fought amid the snows of the Cobequid Mountains and the wind-swept reaches of Tantramar Marsh, and along the tide-red banks of the rivers of that large county.

Declaration day came. Howe, in the best of spirits, apparently, and with overflowing humour, addressed the assembly. "The doctor has beaten us," he said. "There is no hope for the Liberals in this county unless you either make or import a man who shall be able to defeat the young doctor."

With his usual seriousness and "spare not" policy Dr. Tupper in turn addressed the people. The country was rising; in every constituency public indignation was restive to have the opportunity to hurl from power a party that had adopted the principle of religious and political proscription, that trampled on constitutional law in order to hold place and power.

The result of these two contests—the election of the Conservative candidates, Mr. Donkin in Cumberland by a majority of over 200 and Mr. C. J. Campbell in Victoria by a majority of 402—made in the House a deadlock—twenty-seven men would sit on each of the long red benches to the right and left of the Speaker. Mr. Howe had foreseen this possibility and prepared for it. Two men on the Conservative side—Colin Campbell, of Digby, and Captain John V. N. Hatfield, of Argyle—were induced to cross over and give Mr. Howe their help in this time of pressing need. A possible visible inducement for Mr. Campbell was that he took a seat in the Cabinet. No such bait came to the light of day in Captain Hatfield's case.

Dr. Tupper was met in Halifax as conquering hero. On the arrival of the train at the station outside of the city the Amherst physician was met by a shouting crowd of admirers, among them the "Grand Old Man," "the Old Man Eloquent," as Mr. Johnstone was called. He was now sixty-nine years old, but none too old to rejoice with his friends who had turned out to shout more strength and courage into the irrepressible, irresistible young politician. From the steps of his house Dr. Tupper addressed the crowd, and sent them home with the belief that one more onset and the tottering fabric of an illegal and shattered Government would be in pieces under the triumphant feet of the Conservative host.

No fact or argument escaped the alert and courageous spirit of Dr. Tupper in demanding in the Legislature, in the Press and on the platform a dissolution of the House. Lord Mulgrave, who was very intimate with Judge Stewart, C.B., the late Master of the Rolls and uncle of Mrs. Tupper, informed the doctor that Lord Mulgrave told him that if the constituencies of Digby and Argyle should unmistakably resent the action of Messrs. Campbell and Hatfield, he would dissolve the House.

On hearing this, Dr. Tupper went immediately into these constituencies and called public meetings in the polling districts of both Digby and Argyle. After listening to Dr. Tupper votes were taken, and the action of Messrs. Hatfield and Campbell was condemned by large majorities.

Following this came petitions to the Governor from a majority of the constituents of the two members, praying for a dissolution on the ground that the Government depended for its majority on the men who had betrayed their trust. At Pubnico, in Argyle, Dr. Tupper was allowed the use of the Free Baptist Meeting House for his speech. He stood under the pulpit and severely denounced Mr. Hatfield for deserting his party in order to support Mr. Howe. After this meeting Mr. Townshend, the member for Yarmouth, who

accompanied Dr. Tupper on the tour, happened to meet a Frenchman and inquired if he had been present at Dr. Tupper's lecture in the Free Baptist Church. "Yes," was the reply, "I was dere, and I heard Dr. Tupper preach Captain Hatfield's funeral sermon."

On returning to Halifax, Dr. Tupper submitted to Lord Mulgrave the results of the meetings held among the constituents of the two men who had violated their pledges. But he found that Mr. Howe had so dominated the mind of the Governor that he was afraid to take action in accordance with his promise given to Judge Stewart.

To express his strong disapproval of the course taken by the Governor, Dr. Tupper from that day declined all social intercourse with his Excellency, with the exception that he attended a dinner at Government House on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales.

At length Lord Mulgrave, who had been devoting all his energies to the support of Mr. Howe, was obliged to inform the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, that Mr. Howe was doing his utmost to form a Coalition Government with the Opposition.

So hard pressed was Mr. Howe that he offered the offices of Attorney-General and Provincial Secretary to Mr. Johnstone and Dr. Tupper, which they promptly declined. He then offered a seat in the Legislative Council to Mr. McKinnon, and a seat in the Government to Mr. Macdonald with the office of Solicitor-General. As these men were Roman Catholics, this course on Mr. Howe's part was in violation of that principle he had proclaimed for three years, and on which he appealed to the country in 1859.

Proscriptions, members illegally in their seats, the condemnation of the Government by two counties, and the bribery of two Conservatives to come to the aid of a moribund Government, would surely be reasons enough and more for a dissolution of the Legislature, reasons which no Governor could ignore or withstand.

The discussion of this matter was long and animated. Mr. Johnstone, drawing upon his knowledge of constitutional law and his ability for clear and forceful argumentation, contributed his part in condemnation of the course taken by the Governor. Supported by the ablest legal mind in the province, Dr. Tupper became more assured, more forceful in his efforts to convince the public that law and right were sacrificed at the shrine of a weak and falling Government, and that the Governor himself had given the weight of his influence to inflict and fasten this great wrong on the province.

The agitation extended to the people. Fires broke out in some places. A petition from a county east of Halifax, signed by eight hundred electors, was sent to the Governor praying for a dissolution that would give the people the opportunity to sweep out of existence a Government that held office by trampling on political justice and constitutional law. The beleaguered and weakly-manned fort, however, held out for two more years, when the end came with a deluge.

CHAPTER V

CONSERVATIVES RETURNED TO POWER IN NOVA SCOTIA (1860—63)

ALTHOUGH Dr. Tupper refused to join his Government, he agreed to assist Mr. Howe in the reorganisation of Dalhousie College, and Messrs. J. W. Ritchie, Leonard Shannon and he were appointed Governors on August 19, 1862. Mr. Howe and Chief Justice Young were appointed at the same time. At the request of the Mayflower Rifle Volunteers, Dr. Tupper accepted also the position of surgeon to that corps, and in that capacity formed one of the Guard of Honour who escorted the Prince of Wales to Windsor when His Royal Highness left the province.

Dr. Tupper gave his practice in Cumberland to his brother when he accepted office in 1857. When defeated in 1859 he went into practice in Halifax. As soon as the Conservatives resigned office in February, 1860, he was appointed City Medical Officer by the Town Council, and was received with open arms by the medical profession, prominent among whom were his friends Dr. Parker and Dr. Almon. He had the pleasure of placing the former in the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, and the latter in the Senate (of the Dominion) at a later day. Dr. Tupper's position as City Medical Officer gave him an opportunity of learning much of the treatment of poverty and disease. He read a paper before the Medical Society in which he proposed a radical change involving the abolition of the office he held, and that of physician to the Poorhouse held by Dr. Almon. The next day, when Dr. Tupper met Dr. Almon on the street, the latter told him very angrily that unless he abandoned the policy he had proposed he would oppose

him socially, professionally and politically. Dr. Tupper replied that much as he valued his support, he could not retain it on those terms, and when he obtained power those reforms would be carried out. At the next meeting of the Medical Society, Dr. Almon proposed for President Dr. Tupper, who was unanimously elected. He remained one of Dr. Tupper's personal, professional and political friends down to the close of his life, and saw with as much pride as did Dr. Tupper the establishment of a poor asylum and hospital worthy of the city.

In the autumn of 1860 Dr. Tupper was invited to open the Mechanics' Institute at St. John, N.B. He there delivered an address on "The Political Condition of British North America."[1] After reviewing the then condition of the various provinces, he proposed a Federal Union as the best means of providing intercommunication by rail, free commercial intercourse, elevating their status, increasing their strength, importance and development, leading to the acquisition of the great Rupert's Land lying between Canada and the Rocky Mountains. The Hon. Leonard Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, and the Hon. John H. Gray, leader of the Opposition, were present, and warmly supported his views.

The next evening Dr. Tupper gave a lecture at Portland, opposite St. John, advocating a Legislative Union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island as a preliminary to the larger union.

This lecture attracted great attention, and in the Legislature of Nova Scotia in 1861 Mr. Howe introduced a resolution in favour of union which was seconded by Dr. Tupper and passed unanimously.

The following was the resolution:

"Whereas the subject of the union of the North American Provinces, or of the Maritime Provinces of British America, has been

[1] The text of this address is given in full in "Recollections of Sixty Years." (Cassell and Co., Ltd.)

from time to time mooted and discussed in all the Provinces: And whereas while many advantages may be secured by such a union, either of all the Provinces, or a portion of them, many and serious obstacles are presented which can only be overcome by mutual consultation of the leading men of the Colonies, and by free communication with the Imperial Government. Therefore resolved that His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor be respectfully requested to put himself in communication with His Grace the Colonial Secretary and His Excellency the Governor-General and the Lieutenant-Governors of the other North American Provinces, in order to ascertain the policy of Her Majesty's Government and the opinions of the other Colonies, with a view to an enlightened consideration of a question involving the highest interests, and upon which the public mind in all the Provinces ought to be set at rest."

Mr. Howe, having failed to induce any leading members of the Conservative party to strengthen his hands, was obliged to resort to the desperate measure of changing a Franchise Act put on the Statute Book by himself, raising the franchise from manhood suffrage to a rate-paying franchise, the effect of which would be to disfranchise one-third of the voters by whom the existing members had been elected. Every attempt to postpone its operation until after the next general election was voted down. The Government had a majority of one in the Legislative Council. Mr. Alfred Jones, then a warm friend of Dr. Tupper and a leading Halifax merchant, succeeded in inducing the Hon. Mr. Pineo, a supporter of the Government, to move an amendment to defer the putting into operation of the Act until after the next election, which amendment was carried.

Mr. Howe had been appointed by the British Government a Commissioner to delimit the Fisheries. Dr. Tupper challenged the constitutionality of such an office being held in connection with that of the leader of the Government. When Mr. Howe so far forgot himself as to refer to Dr. Tupper on the floor of the House as "a man midwife," Dr. Tupper retorted that he flattered himself that he had

obtained some reputation as a gynæcologist, but he would not be satisfied with his laurels until he had succeeded in delivering that House of Her Majesty's Fishery Commissioner.

Prompt habits and ceaseless activity carried Dr. Tupper successfully through the double calling of medical practitioner and the strenuous labour of the leader of a political party from 1859 to 1863. His ability and professional knowledge gave him a high position in the medical profession in Halifax. It may be that his political success created an exaggerated belief respecting his professional skill. Be this as it may, he occupied a foremost place. In the medical profession, as in politics, his habit was to master as far as possible all details, decide upon the necessary treatment, boldly make known his views, and if in consultation with other physicians or surgeons, or if acting alone, proceed to administer his remedies, giving the patient, unconsciously, the stimulating and dominating power of his own will. In evidence of his reputation as a medical man, it is enough to say that his opponents in the Legislature, when ill, called him to their bedside.

The following extract from Sir Charles's journal affords interesting evidence on this point:

"Although much of my time during the period we were in opposition had been spent in agitating the country and organising the party, I had secured a very large and lucrative medical practice in Halifax which I could not afford to relinquish. I therefore took Dr. Wickwire, a gentleman who had graduated at the University of Edinburgh, into partnership, and continued my professional work. Notwithstanding the vigorous opposition I had been leading against the Liberal party during the past three years, when any members of the House were ill they generally sent for me. On one occasion Mr. Moseley, the member from Lunenburg, was attacked with erysipelas of the head and face. I was then pressing a motion of no confidence

against Mr. Howe, who had a majority of two only. I said to Mr. Moseley: 'If you were not a member of the House I would paint your face and scalp with tincture of iodine, but if I do you will not be able to show your face in the House for more than a week.' 'Go ahead, doctor,' said Moseley; 'do anything that is necessary to cure me—never mind about the House.' While I was painting his face, Captain Mackenzie, one of the Liberal members, came in, and I saw at a glance that he suspected me of depriving his party of a vote on the coming division; so I said: 'If Mr. Moseley is not able to come to the division, I will pair one of our friends with him.'

"On another occasion I was consulted by Mr. Burgess, the Liberal member for Kings, shortly before the general election. I removed a tumour from his side at the Lovett House, where he was lodging. One of his Liberal colleagues, the Hon. Mr. Chipman, was at his side when I put Burgess under chloroform. Greatly to the dismay of his friend, Burgess said: 'I tell you, Chipman, it is no good to deceive ourselves; we cannot carry the county,' and so it turned out when the election came."

The *British Colonist* was the principal Conservative paper at that time in Halifax. Dr. Tupper made it a part of his work to be the political editor of this journal, either writing or revising all the editorials, when in the city.

Mr. Howe having failed to strengthen his Government according to the requirements of the Lieutenant-Governor by offering inducements to Roman Catholics and other men in opposition, made overtures to Dr. Tupper to form a Coalition Government. This offer was declined.

Apparently cut off from every source from which he could draw strength, Mr. Howe finally succeeded in inducing Moses Shaw, from Annapolis County, a colleague of Mr. Johnstone, to come over to his side and vote with the Liberals. This gave the Liberals a majority of four, but resulted in giving moral strength to the Opposition

and in weakening the Government party. With a forceful and tactful leader like Dr. Tupper there is no difficulty in imagining how these successful acts of seduction were turned upon the tempters, producing in them conscious weakness and fear of ultimate defeat, and in the country disgust and resentment.

Dr. Tupper, in the session of 1863, the last one of the Liberal Government, to add further to the condemnation of his opponents, submitted a plan to the Lower House for reducing the expenses of the government of the country. It was in view of a large and embarrassing deficit that he proposed his plan of retrenchment. His items of reduction totalled $80,000. He tried the Government on one point by submitting a resolution to do away with the salary of $1,500 given to the Governor's private secretary. This was voted down. That gave firm standing ground for a crusade of retrenchment which at that time appealed to the people with good effect.

Arrayed in their order, his bill of charges was as follows: Members sitting in the House illegally; proscription of a religious denomination; seduction of Opposition members to strengthen the Government; the unconstitutional holding of two incompatible offices by the Premier; and the refusal of the Government to cut down expenses. With these weapons the battle was fought in the House through its session of 1863 until the time came for the elections in the spring of that year.

It was when Dr. Tupper was making strenuous efforts to defeat the Bill which would disfranchise about twenty-six thousand electors in the province that Colin Campbell, who had previously left the Conservative party, resigned his seat in the Liberal Government and voted with the Conservatives. Dr. Tupper had said that any member of the Liberal party who would stand by the Opposition in this effort to defeat the attempt to disfranchise so many electors in the province would be received with open arms.

There was corresponding activity outside the House. The Constitutional League was formed in Halifax, and through it literature denouncing the Government was sent over the country. Dr. Tupper was president of this organisation. In the House he said that literature was sent out to give information to the people "against a corrupt Government." *Public Opinion* was the title of the paper published by the League.

The result of the election of 1863 was foreseen by both parties. From the day when Mr. Howe allowed himself to lead in the campaign of proscription until the day he resigned as Premier his power had been gradually growing less. Of this he himself was conscious. From the time he returned to power in 1859 until 1863, railway construction was at a standstill. His weakness in the House was chronic. All he could do was to fight for his political life.

Dr. Tupper's unique, magnetic personality had dominated the province. At this time he had been in the House eight years. Gladstone in his English campaign in 1878 and onwards against the Turks for their Bulgarian and other atrocities was not more aflame and terrible in his mission than was Dr. Tupper in driving the Liberal Government from power in the parliamentary term from 1859 to 1863. He had so imparted himself to the Conservative party throughout the country that there was everywhere an apparent reproduction of his spirit and methods. People listened to his conversation and his addresses, and read his deliverances in newspapers and pamphlets, until they mastered the facts used by him as missiles against the foe and became, unconsciously to themselves, an army following the banner of their leader. Even many who had delighted to honour Joseph Howe now seemed to enjoy the attacks made upon him which he vainly strove to resist.

The remotest causes of this political upheaval did not lie far afield. Now the day of retribution had come. With

his special talents it was only necessary for Dr. Tupper to endorse and advocate the principles and policies of Mr. Johnstone. His youthful ardour and special gifts popularised them. The love of truth and sound conduct in the hearts of those who adored Mr. Howe responded to the appeals of the young politician. In the heart of the public there came a revulsion of feeling. The facts presented with such force by Dr. Tupper, they said, must be sound and must be enforced.

In this condition, then, the two old combatants, Johnstone and Howe, came into conflict on April 28, 1863. Nomination day settled the fate of the Government. The result of the trial of strength on that occasion was the election by acclamation of twenty-three men for the Opposition party, lacking only five to give them a majority. Dr. Tupper and his two colleagues were among those elected by acclamation. This released him for a short campaign in Lunenburg County. There he found the tide running strong against Mr. Howe, and he had but little difficulty in rolling up a majority of 450 against the popular party leader.

Sir Charles, in his journal, recounts a tragic incident which occurred on this visit:

"The night before the polling, Dr. Jacobs, the principal physician in the place, invited me to dinner. After dinner we went to his library, where he asked me to examine his heart, as he wished to take advantage of my presence in Lunenburg to know his condition. I took a stethoscope and examined his heart. He said: 'I see from your countenance that the case is very grave. I suppose it will be very soon and very sudden?' I said I feared it would. I was taking an active part at the polling the next morning, and in passing his house called to see Dr. Jacobs. I said: 'I suppose you will not go to the polls?' He replied: 'Yes, I intend to poll my vote.' I said: 'Then I will go to the Court House with you,' as I wished to make

him walk slowly and to prevent his attempting to vote if there was any excitement. All was quiet, and Dr. Jacobs polled his vote. We returned very slowly, the doctor leaning on my arm. Two of his daughters were in the drawing-room, where we sat down some distance apart. The doctor said something to me in a jocular strain, and when I looked across the room I saw he was dead. I sprang to his side and laid him on the carpet, but he never moved or attempted to breathe. Mrs. Jacobs was suffering from paralysis, and his daughters were shocked beyond measure. I did not leave until night."

In Halifax three men went in by acclamation, and in Annapolis Mr. Johnstone fought a winning battle. On declaration day it was found that the Opposition had forty members and the Government fifteen.

This was the result of a campaign practically led by Dr. Tupper. In that time his force of character and great ability had been acknowledged on all sides. But his daring and persistent attacks had drawn down upon him the fierce criticism of his opponents and the Liberal Press. Nothing that skilful and reckless writing could do was left undone. But resolute, undaunted and made even more determined by such opposition, he met his opponents in public and in private, and ceased not in his campaign "to hurl from power," as was his expression, an unworthy Government. His end was accomplished. Mr. Howe was defeated, and then confined his attention to his duties as Imperial Fishery Commissioner.

Dr. Tupper was as faithful and devoted to Mr. Johnstone as a son. Indeed, with a fine appreciation and a magnanimity that were above all personal feelings, Johnstone would have had this son placed at the head of the victorious party, but he was so much a son that he would not unite with a Government unless Mr. Johnstone were Premier. The mutual trust, devotion and love of these two men for nine years of public association—which, indeed,

lasted to the end of Mr. Johnstone's life—may in the political history of Nova Scotia be likened to an "apple of gold in a picture of silver." The salutary effect of this course had a lasting effect on Dr. Tupper throughout his long, active life.

The Government now formed consisted of the following: Mr. Johnstone, Premier and Attorney-General; Dr. Tupper, Provincial Secretary; W. A. Henry, Solicitor-General; James McNab, Receiver-General; Isaac LeViscount, Financial Secretary; and without portfolios, John McKinnon, Thomas Killam, Alexander McFarlane and S. L. Shannon. Lord Mulgrave was deeply mortified when the Conservative Government required him to restore to office the gentlemen whom he had dismissed, but justice demanded the restitution of their rights. The relations between him and the Government were relieved by the fact that he soon after succeeded to the title of Marquis of Normanby and returned to England. The new Government met the House under Major-General Charles Hastings Doyle, who had been appointed Administrator.

In handing over the office of Provincial Secretary to Dr. Tupper, Mr. Howe said: "Do not forget that if at any time I can be of service to the country I will be glad to assist you." Dr. Tupper thanked him and told him that he would not hesitate, under such circumstances, to ask his aid.

Immediately after his daughter's[1] death in 1863, Dr. Tupper was obliged to go with the Hon. Mr. Tilley, Premier of New Brunswick, to Quebec to arrange with the Canadian Government a survey of the Intercolonial Railway. He joined Mr. Tilley at Fredericton, and they drove to Rivière du Loup and went thence by rail to Quebec. The Hon. John Sandfield Macdonald was then Premier of Canada, and the House was in session at Quebec. Lord Lyons, then the British Minister at Washington, was there at the same time, and as

[1] Sophia Almon Tupper died of diphtheria on August 13, 1863.

the Government was very much occupied, they sent Lord Lyons, Mr. Tilley and Dr. Tupper to visit the Saguenay in a Government steamer. Lord Lyons was taken quite ill, but Dr. Tupper prescribed for him, and they returned in good order to Quebec.

Of this visit to Quebec, Sir Charles wrote in his journal :

"While at Quebec I was entertained at the Stadacona Club. In reply to a toast proposed in my honour, I expressed the hope that at no distant day we would all be united by confederation. As it was my first visit to Canada, I went to Montreal on my way to Toronto and Niagara Falls. I stayed at the St. Lawrence Hotel. Just before leaving I took out of a pocket in my valise £60, and put it in the trunk I was leaving at the hotel until my return. Mr. C. P. Brydges, the manager of the Grand Trunk Railway, invited me to go in his private car to Toronto. I put my valise with the other baggage in the room at the entrance of the car. We took dinner at the Cornwall station, and when bedtime came my valise could not be found. The telegraph was put in operation, and at 10 o'clock the next morning I was informed that it had been found behind a pile of wood at the Cornwall station. I received it that night with the contents untouched except the pocket from which I had taken the £60, which was torn off. Upon reflection, the day it was done, I came to the conclusion that it was a mistake to leave my money in a hotel instead of taking it with me; but it proved otherwise."

It had been arranged with the British Government that their survey should be made by an engineer appointed by the Imperial Government, another by the Canadian Government, and that Nova Scotia and New Brunswick should jointly appoint a third. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald told Mr. Tilley and Dr. Tupper that they proposed to appoint Mr. Sandford Fleming. Dr. Tupper and Mr. Tilley consulted Mr. J. A. Macdonald, leader of the Conservative party,

and Messrs. G. E. Cartier and A. T. Galt, and they told them that Mr. Fleming would be their choice if they were in power. Mr. Tilley and Dr. Tupper therefore agreed to nominate Mr. Fleming to represent Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. This was reported to the British Government by Lord Monck, the Governor-General of Canada, and the Colonial Office sent out a dispatch saying that as the provinces had selected so able an engineer as Mr. Fleming, they would also appoint him to represent Her Majesty's Government. When Mr. Fleming was subsequently organising the survey, a man asked for employment, and he engaged him as an axeman at $1.00 a day. Mr. Fleming asked him for his address, that he might notify him when they were ready to commence work. He gave his address at Government House, Fredericton. Soon afterwards Mr. Fleming received a letter from his employee saying that he could not go on the survey as he had become the Earl of Aberdeen owing to the death of the previous earl.

The war between the North and South in the United States was then at its height, and one of the most acute international complications took place in the harbour of Halifax. The United States steamer *Chesapeake* was running as a passenger steamer between Boston and New York, and a number of Southerners took passage on her at Boston for St. John. In the night they shot the chief engineer, took possession of the *Chesapeake,* and landed the captain, crew and passengers on an island. The United States cruiser *Ella and Annie* was sent to recapture the *Chesapeake,* and chased her into the harbour of Halifax, where she grounded at Herring Cove, and all on board escaped into the forest except one man named Wade, who was captured and taken on board the *Ella and Annie,* which anchored in the harbour. General Doyle sent for Dr. Tupper, who advised him to send Colonel Clerke, his private secretary, on board the cruiser to demand the release of Wade on the ground that his capture was in violation of the laws of neutrality. General Doyle said:

"Suppose he refuses and attempts to leave the port with Wade on board?" Dr. Tupper replied: "In that case, you must sink his vessel from the batteries."

Colonel Clerke took the message to the captain, who, having communicated with Judge Jackson, the American consul, agreed to put Wade on shore, a free man, at 2 o'clock the next day. Judge Jackson went to Dr. Tupper at 2 o'clock in the night with a demand for extradition papers against Wade on the ground of murder on the *Chesapeake*. Dr. Tupper sent for the Hon. Mr. Henry, the Solicitor-General, and Judge Jackson was supplied with the necessary papers to arrest Wade. At 2 o'clock the captain of the American cruiser had Wade put on shore. Quite a crowd assembled. When the Chief Constable came promptly forward to arrest Wade, some persons hustled the latter into a boat manned by longshore fishermen. The Chief Constable drew a pistol to deter the boat's crew from attempting to leave, when Dr. Almon, a strong Southern sympathiser, sprang forward and pinioned the arms of the constable to his sides, and the boat with Wade was out of range in a moment. The civic authorities did all that they could to aid in the capture of Wade, but without effect. Dr. Almon had arranged this rescue.

The result was curious: Dr. Tupper spent the night with General Doyle writing dispatches to the War Office; the municipal authorities inflicted a fine upon Dr. Almon for assaulting the constable; the British Government warmly commended General Doyle "for having adequately vindicated the honour and dignity of Her Majesty's Crown without neglecting anything which was due to the Government of the United States"; the Secretary of State, Mr. W. H. Seward, wrote to Judge Jackson that the Government was "gratified with the just and friendly proceedings of His Excellency the Governor of Nova Scotia in the premises"; the Legislature of Nova Scotia passed a congratulatory

address to General Doyle, and Her Majesty rewarded him with a K.C.M.G.

Before the meeting of the Legislature Dr. Tupper wrote the Hon. Mr. Tilley of his desire to have the question of a Legislative Union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island taken up, and also expressing his disappointment at the arrangements at Quebec respecting the survey of the Intercolonial Railway not being ratified by his Government.

When in power from 1857 to 1859, Dr. Tupper had committed himself to the enterprise of building an Intercolonial Railway, and when out of power in 1860 he initiated the project of a union of the Maritime Provinces. The subject of common school education supported by assessment, the further building of local railways which had stood still from 1859 to 1863, the volunteer and militia service, a canal between the Bras d'or Lakes and the open sea, a measure for the registration of births, deaths and marriages—all these were matters demanding the attention of the Government when the Legislature came together on February 4, 1864. In addition to the labour involved in dealing with these subjects, Dr. Tupper embraced the occasion for improving the judiciary of the province. It was felt that to perfect the administration of justice, a judgeship in equity was required. Having carefully examined the question, it was decided to pass a Bill for that purpose. The appointment to this position of the Hon. J. W. Johnstone, then seventy-two years old, was admitted by both parties to be just, especially as it made a suitable closing to his long and honourable political career, and was a commendable act on the part of his devoted friend, the Hon. Charles Tupper, who succeeded him as Premier.

A judgeship had been opened to Mr. Johnstone in 1847, and as Attorney-General he had no rival for the position; but rather than leave the higher education of the province in an unsettled state, he gave the judgeship to his friend

Alexander Stewart, and continued his labours in the sphere of politics, never wholly congenial to him. When the next appointment to the bench was made the Liberal Government was in power, and gave it to the Hon. William Young. Dr. Tupper had, therefore, the greater pleasure of putting his friend on an equality, in respect to both salary and honour, with Judge Young, then Chief Justice.

Among the important proposals in the Governor's speech of 1864 was that of a Bill for general education. It provided that the Government should be the Council of Public Instruction, of which the superintendent of education was to be secretary. He was to be separated from the Normal School. County inspectors were to be appointed, and they were to be clerks of the Boards of Commissioners in the several counties. Rearrangements of school sections were to be made; school-houses were to be built by compulsory assessment. Voluntary assessment for supporting schools, which had been the law for a number of years, was to be encouraged by the addition of twenty-five per cent. added to their grants; teachers were to be classified and paid accordingly; a large addition was to be made to the grant for common school education; an academy was to be established in each county where none existed.

In introducing this Bill, Dr. Tupper said:

"It is many years since any improvement has been made in the educational system of the country. It is well known that since the Legislature first dealt with this question the population and revenue of the country have very largely increased. It therefore requires no argument to prove to intelligent men the propriety of taking measures for the amendment of our law, and giving increased facilities for such an important public service as that of education.

"I am quite aware that the Bill which I now have the honour to introduce will probably disappoint many members of the House, and many people in this country who are sincerely desirous that something important should be done to advance our educational status, and to cause a wider diffusion of knowledge among all classes of the people. I know that the public mind has been directed to

one especial means—that of compulsory assessment for the support of common schools. This Bill does not propose, however, to take that course. I confess that my views have undergone no change on this subject since the first session I had the honour of a seat in this House, when I voted for a resolution approving of a system of compulsory assessment for the support of the common schools of this Province. But after a careful examination of the whole subject, looking at it with a sincere desire to come to such a conclusion as would best advance the wide diffusion of education among the people, I have come to the belief that in the present condition of this country it would not be either wise or politic to carry immediately into effect a system of compulsory assessment. Whilst I have thus hesitated to provide for compulsory taxation, the Bill which I now introduce is framed with a view to render that system as gradually acceptable to the people as possible."

The Bill thus introduced by Dr. Tupper made all necessary arrangements to pave the way for the introduction of compulsory assessment. Indeed, it met with but little opposition. For many years a process of education had been going on in the public mind in favour of the support of schools by assessment. The success of schools in the New England states was a stimulus to the ambition of Nova Scotia not to be too much belated in a work so essential to the prosperity of the country. As soon as his Bill became law, Dr. Tupper looked about for a man to take the position of superintendent. Fortunately, his attention was turned to T. H. Rand, a graduate of Acadia College, and at the time teacher of Greek and Latin in the Normal School, and Dr. Tupper discerned in young Rand just the man he needed for the heavy work of carrying his common school system into operation. All arrangements had been perfected for carrying out the Education Bill of 1864 before the House came together in the following year. During the period between these sessions the belief became current that taxation would be added to the system. The Opposition papers did not fail to make capital out of the Government's intended purpose. But Dr. Tupper did not wait for public sentiment. He resolved on creating it by the influence of

a law in operation. It was well for the province that it had a man who seemed to disregard attacks and persistent opposition. Having given the public time to consider the matter and express any views they might entertain, he decided to go forward with his Bill.

The introduction of the assessment measure was not, on the part of Dr. Tupper, an impulse. He had been deliberating in respect to it for ten years—since the time he voted for Mr. Young's resolution on assessment. No man in the province knew better the state of public feeling than the author of this Bill. Direct taxation was a term thoroughly detested by many in Nova Scotia. Dr. Tupper could not but see that the enforcement of a system supported by compulsory assessment would cost his Government its life, but undaunted he went forward with this new undertaking. Could he have seen beforehand the history of his School Bill—its grand results in his native province and the undying honour it has brought to its author—he could not have been stronger or more determined.

It was a matter of common knowledge that the Roman Catholics preferred separate schools. This was the formidable objection to any free school system based on taxation. It was fortunate, both for Dr. Tupper and the country, that the Archbishop of Halifax, Dr. Connolly, was more than a churchman—he was a broad-minded statesman. Before introducing his second Bill in 1865, Dr. Tupper discussed the matter with the Archbishop, who expressed the fear that Roman Catholics would not get justice without separate schools. To this objection Dr. Tupper had already prepared a reply. He said to the Archbishop : " I have anticipated your objection, and have provided for it. As a large body of Christians, the Roman Catholics will ever have a good representation in the Provincial Cabinet. I have, therefore, made the Cabinet the Council of Public Instruction. This gives you a permanent guarantee of justice to

your people. Necessarily, the Roman Catholics will always have a representation in the Executive Government." "Your Bill shall have my support," was the Archbishop's reply.

With this assurance the Bill was introduced. On its second reading, A. G. Archibald, leader of the Opposition, attacked Dr. Tupper for superseding Dr. Forrester by the appointment of Dr. Rand as superintendent. In reply, Dr. Tupper said that Dr. Forrester, who still held his place as principal of the Normal School, had heartily recommended Dr. Rand. Then Mr. Archibald objected to that provision of the Bill making the Executive the Council of Public Instruction. Dr. Tupper replied to Mr. Archibald, reminding him that he was in favour of assessment and had expressed his regret that it was not in the Bill of 1864, and was now trying to defeat the Bill by a detail that could be settled in committee.

Mr. LeViscount, a member of the Government, who though himself a Protestant had a Roman Catholic constituency, moved a series of resolutions in favour of separate schools. In reply to the amendments, Dr. Tupper used a strong expression. He said that he would burn the Bill before he would assent to them. He saw, however, that the drift of sentiment in the House, if not turned, would result in the defeat of the Bill. He then moved the adjournment of the debate. He evidently saw that Mr. Archibald, on reflection, would hesitate to unite with the Roman Catholics in defeating the Bill, and so it turned out.

When the House came together again, Mr. Archibald agreed to allow the Bill to pass its second reading and bring up his objections in committee.

This brief account of the process through which the School Bill passed before becoming law is a very imperfect description of the perils which it encountered. Here is an extract from a letter received by Dr. Tupper from

Mr. McKinnon, a member of his Cabinet and a brother of the Bishop of Arichat :

"I forgot bringing to your notice the remarks you made last night in reference to separate schools. Do you see the position you placed me in ? Unless you qualify these strong remarks satisfactorily I will be compelled to take my leave of your Government."

In a copy of his "Teacher's Text Book" sent by Dr. Forrester to Dr. Tupper is found this inscription :

"To the Honourable Charles Tupper, M.D., C.B., etc., with the respectful compliments of the author and as a small expression of his admiration of his steadfastness and determination in securing, during his premiership of his native Province, one of the best legislative enactments on popular education to be found in any country."

CHAPTER VI

UNION CONFERENCES (1864)

THE Bill providing for the extension of the railway to Pictou was carried in the session of 1864 by 42 to 7.

In an earlier chapter it has been stated that Dr. Tupper, when in opposition in 1860, was invited to open the Mechanics' Institute in St. John, New Brunswick, which he did by a lecture on "The Political Condition of British North America," in which he advocated Confederation as the only remedy for existing evils and the only means by which the colonies could reach their greatest degree of prosperity and be of greatest service to the Empire. On his return to Nova Scotia, Dr. Tupper repeated the lecture at Amherst, Truro, Halifax and Horton. In pursuance of the plan advocated in the St. John lecture, Dr. Tupper in 1864 introduced a resolution into the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, which was carried through the Legislature, proposing in a prompt and practical manner a matured scheme for uniting the Maritime Provinces. At that time, there being no prospect of an immediate larger union, it was believed that a Maritime Union would be helpful when the time came for accomplishing the confederation of all the colonies. Dr. Tupper had previously arranged with the Premiers of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island for the introduction of an identical resolution in each of their Legislatures, and this was carried in each case. It was then arranged that delegates representing the three provinces should meet at Charlottetown on September 1, 1864.

After the Conservatives in Canada announced their

policy on the question of Union in the Governor's speech opening the Legislature, a deadlock having occurred and neither party having obtained a working majority, a Coalition Government was formed on the basis of a Federal Union of all the British North American Provinces; or if that were found impracticable, provision was made that there should be a dissolution of the Legislative Union that existed, and the substitution of a Federal Union between Upper and Lower Canada. Lord Monck sent dispatches to the Governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island asking admission to the proposed Conference at Charlottetown for members of the Canadian Government, to enable them to submit their views on the union of all the Provinces.

The question of Union having thus become a subject of public discussion, Mr. Sandford Fleming, who was then engaged in the survey of the Intercolonial Railway, and who had also been appointed Chief Railway Engineer in Nova Scotia, taking a warm interest in the union of all the Provinces, suggested to Dr. Tupper the desirability of bringing about the visit of a number of leading people from Canada to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Dr. Tupper concurred cordially, and mainly through the instrumentality of Mr. Fleming this was arranged, and reception committees were formed in St. John and Halifax.

The Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, a very eloquent Irish Catholic and a member of the Government of Canada, wrote Dr. Tupper the following letter:

MONTREAL, *July* 23, 1864.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—From sixty to eighty members of both Houses will be at St. John on the 2nd and 3rd prox. and remain till the following Monday, when they intend to visit your good city. Can you send over some one or two of your committee to arrange details? Will the Yacht Club show these inlanders Sambro Head?

Yours always,

T. D. McGEE.

HON. CHAS. TUPPER.

This was done. A large number of ladies and gentlemen came and were hospitably entertained. A picnic was held at Prince's Lodge, built on the Bedford Basin by the Duke of Kent, and a party given in their honour at Government House by Sir Richard Graves McDonnell, who had been appointed to succeed Lord Normanby as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.

At a banquet given to the Canadian visitors, Dr. Tupper took the opportunity of observing that as the Government had been reconstructed in Canada upon the basis of endeavouring to procure a confederation of all the provinces, he hoped they might see the Maritime Union merged in the larger scheme. Mr. Howe followed, declaring that such a union was the dream of his life.

When the delegates to the Union Conference at Charlottetown were to be selected, Dr. Tupper wrote to Mr. Howe as follows:

HALIFAX, *August* 16, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of informing you that your name has been this morning submitted by the Executive Council to His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor as one of the delegates to the Conference upon the Union of the Maritime Provinces, and I am instructed by His Excellency to inquire if you will accept that office and attend the meeting of delegates at Charlottetown on the 1st of September.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) C. TUPPER.

HON. J. HOWE.

Mr. Howe's reply was as follows:

H.M.S. *Lily*,

August 16, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am sorry, for many reasons, to be compelled to decline participation in the Conference at Charlottetown. The season is so far advanced that I find my summer's work would be so seriously deranged by the visit to P. E. Island that, without permission from the Foreign Office, I would scarcely feel justified in consulting my own feelings at the expense of the public service.

I shall be home in October, and will be very happy to co-operate in carrying out any measure upon which the Conference shall agree.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH HOWE.

HON. C. TUPPER.

On receipt of this letter, Dr. Tupper offered the appointment to Mr. A. G. Archibald, leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, and the Hon. Jonathan McCully, leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Council, who both accepted.

On September 1, 1864, the Conference assembled at Charlottetown.

Nova Scotia was represented by Hon. Charles Tupper, Premier and Provincial Secretary; Hon. W. A. Henry, Attorney-General; Hon. R. B. Dickey, M.L.C.; Hon. Jonathan McCully, M.L.C.; and Adams G. Archibald.

New Brunswick was represented by Hon. S. L. Tilley, Premier and Provincial Secretary; Hon. J. M. Johnston, M.P.P. and Attorney-General; Hon. John H. Gray, M.P.P.; and Hon. W. H. Steves, M.L.C.

Prince Edward Island was represented by Hon. Colonel Gray, M.P.P., President of Executive Council; Hon. E. L. Palmer, M.L.C., Attorney-General; Hon. W. H. Pope, M.P.P., Provincial Secretary; Hon. George Coles, M.P.P.; and Hon. A. A. Macdonald, M.L.C.

The outcome of the Conference was the acceptance of the following resolution moved by Dr. Tupper and seconded by Hon. R. B. Dickey:

"Whereas in the opinion of the Conference a Union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island under one Government and Legislature would elevate the status, enhance the credit, enlarge the influence, improve the social, commercial, and political condition, increase the development and promote the interests generally of all these Provinces: Resolved—That the time has arrived when such union should be effected."

It was subsequently announced by the Hon. J. A. Macdonald that the Canadian Government would advise

His Excellency the Governor-General to invite a delegation from the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland to meet at Quebec on October 10 to consider officially a proposal to unite the British North American Provinces in one Confederation.

The delegates and members of the Canadian Government all accepted Dr. Tupper's invitation to visit Halifax, where a banquet was given them at the Halifax Hotel on September 12. This was attended by the Lieutenant-Governor, Vice-Admiral Hope, the Chief Justice, and many members of the Assembly and Legislative Council. After the loyal toasts had been disposed of, Dr. Tupper, who presided, proposed "The Provincial Delegates." In the course of his speech, he said:

"I am perhaps safe in saying that no more momentous gathering of public men has ever taken place in these provinces, whether regarded as comprising the ablest and best men, not only of one party, but of both the great parties into which all these colonies have been divided. When I speak of Canada, although only the Executive Government is represented, I need not tell this assembly that on the great question which has engaged our deliberations, two parties who have stood in the most determined political antagonism to each other have been brought together; all minor considerations of questions of party have been merged into one common sentiment to unite in order to elevate their common country, and provide it with a stable and efficient government. I am therefore in a position to say that in all these provinces both parties are fully represented. After the deliberations of the past week I have the proud satisfaction of being able to state to this assembly to-night that a more harmonious, united, or cordial body of men, without a single exception, never was brought together in an endeavour to benefit their common country. I will go further and say I have reason for believing that the great question on which they are engaged will receive at no distant day a satisfactory solution at their hands."

The Hon. G. E. Cartier, the Hon. George Brown, and the Hon. S. L. Tilley made able and eloquent speeches in favour of union.

Dr. Tupper proposed the next toast—"Colonial Union"—and coupled it with the name of the Hon. J. A. Macdonald.

The banquet closed with eloquent speeches from Hon. A. T. Galt and Hon. T. D. McGee.

During their stay in Halifax most of the members of the Canadian Government remained on board the Government steamer with the exception of the Hon. George Brown, who was a guest at Dr. Tupper's house in Hollis Street. The day after the banquet the Maritime delegates and several of the Canadian Ministers proceeded to Fredericton, where they had an interview with Lieutenant-Governor Gordon, and subsequently returned to St. John, where the New Brunswick delegates gave them a banquet.

The Governor-General of Canada having formally invited the sending of delegates from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and the Governments of these Provinces having agreed to this proposition and having respectively appointed delegates to meet at Quebec on October 10, the Conference assembled at the Parliament Buildings on that day.

Canada was represented by Sir E. P. Tache, Premier; Hon. J. A. Macdonald, Attorney-General, West; Hon. G. E. Cartier, Attorney-General, East; Hon. William McDougall, Provincial Secretary; Hon. George Brown, President Executive Council; Hon. A. T. Galt, Finance Minister; Hon. A. Campbell, Commissioner of Crown Lands; Hon. Oliver Mowat, Postmaster-General; Hon. Hector Langevin, Solicitor-General, East; Hon. James Cockburn, Solicitor-General, West; Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee, Minister of Agriculture; Hon. J. C. Chapais, Minister of Public Works.

Nova Scotia: Hon. Dr. Tupper, Premier and Provincial Secretary; Hon. W. A. Henry, Attorney-General; Hon. R. B. Dickey, M.L.C.; Hon. Jonathan McCully, M.L.C.; Hon. A. G. Archibald, M.P.P.

New Brunswick: Hon. S. L. Tilley, Premier and Provincial Secretary; Hon. John M. Johnston, Attorney-General; Hon. Peter Mitchell, M.L.C.; Hon. Charles Fisher, M.P.P.;

Hon. E. B. Chandler, M.L.C.; Hon. W. H. Steves, M.L.C.; Hon. John H. Gray, M.P.P.

Prince Edward Island: Hon. Colonel Gray, Premier; Hon. Edward Palmer, Attorney-General; Hon. W. H. Pope, Provincial Secretary; Hon. George Coles, M.P.P.; Hon. Heath Haviland, M.P.P.; Hon. Edward Whelan, M.P.P.; Hon. H. A. McDonald, M.L.C.

Newfoundland: Hon. F. B. T. Cartier, Speaker of the House; Hon. Ambrose Shea.

The Hon. Sir E. P. Tache was appointed chairman, and the provincial secretaries of the Provinces were appointed secretaries.

It was resolved that the vote should be given by provinces, Canada having two votes. On the 11th inst., at the request of the secretaries, Lieutenant-Colonel Bernand was appointed Executive Secretary. It was unanimously resolved that the federal system should be adopted. It was also decided to follow the model of the British Constitution as far as circumstances would admit.

Upon Dr. Tupper's motion it was resolved:

"That for the purpose of forming the Legislative Council the federated provinces shall be considered as consisting of three divisions: 1st, Upper Canada; 2nd, Lower Canada; 3rd, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, with equal representation in the Legislative Council."

It was also decided that each division should have twenty-four members, which would give Nova Scotia and New Brunswick ten each and Prince Edward Island four.

Upon the motion of Mr. J. A. Macdonald it was unanimously resolved:

"That the members of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Crown under the Great Seal of the General Government, and shall hold office during life."

It was upon Dr. Tupper's motion resolved:

"That the members of the Legislative Council for the General Government shall, in the first instance, be selected from the Legis-

lative Councils of the various provinces with the exception of Prince Edward Island, so far as a sufficient number be found qualified and willing to serve."

The only dissentient was Prince Edward Island.

Upon the motion of Mr. Brown it was resolved that the basis of representation in the House of Commons should be population as determined by the official census every ten years, and that the number of members at first should be 200 :

Upper Canada ...	89	New Brunswick ...	15
Lower Canada ...	65	Newfoundland	7
Nova Scotia ...	19	Prince Edward Island	5

And it was further provided that Lower Canada should always have sixty-five members, and the others an increase or decrease according to the relative change every ten years. Prince Edward Island alone dissented. Duration of Parliament was fixed at five years, subject to dissolution. It was arranged that all matters of a general character, not specially and exclusively reserved for the local governments and legislatures, should be under the control of the Federal Parliament and Government.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. Mowat it was resolved :

"That it shall be competent for the local legislatures to make laws respecting education, saving the rights and privileges which the minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the Constitutional Act goes into operation.

"The sale and management of public lands, excepting lands belonging to the general government ; property and civil rights, excepting those portions thereof assigned to the general legislature ; municipal institutions ; local works ; the establishment and tenure of local offices, and the appointment and payment of local officers ; direct taxation ; borrowing money on the credit of the Province ; shop, saloon, tavern, and auctioneer licences ; the incorporation of private or local companies, except such as relate to matters assigned to the Federal Legislature ; and generally all matters of a private or local nature."

It was also resolved that Bills passed by the General Legislature should be subject to disallowance by the Queen

within two years, and Bills passed by the Local Legislatures to disallowance by the General Government within one year; that in the General Legislature and in the Local Legislatures both languages might be used; that Canada should be allowed a debt of $62,500,000; Nova Scotia, $8,000,000; New Brunswick, $7,000,000.

A grant in aid of each Province of 80 cents a head of the population as established by the census of 1861 was also agreed to, and it was arranged that the Intercolonial Railway should be proceeded with at once.

It was resolved that the North-West Territory, British Columbia and Vancouver Island should be admitted into the Union, upon such terms as Parliament should deem equitable, and as should receive the assent of Her Majesty, and in the case of British Columbia or Vancouver Island, as should be agreed to by the Legislature of such Province.

It was provided: "That the judges shall be appointed by the General Government, and that judges of the Superior Courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall only be removed on the address of both Houses of the General Legislature."

The Quebec Conference concluded its labours on October 27. Nothing could exceed the hospitality received by the delegates from the day of their arrival until they left.

Sir Charles says in his journal:

"Soon after arrival a grand banquet was given to the Maritime Delegates by the Board of Trade. The president, A. Joseph, Esq., occupied the chair. After the toast of the Governor-General had been duly honoured, 'Our Guests the Delegates from the Maritime Provinces' was proposed, to which I replied."

In the course of his reply, he said:

"When you look at these facts, you will easily understand that the confederation which shall unite the British American Colonies, which will give a common aim, and unite by a common bond the whole people, will tend to enhance their credit—to place them upon

the exchanges of the world in a far better position than we can hope for in our present divided state. I fail myself to understand how the commercial union, so ably referred to by your chairman, is ever to be realised, except in connection with a political union. The public men of British North America have not probably yet exhausted that subject; but they have given it their careful attention, and hitherto they have been unable to devise means whereby a commercial union could be formed separate from a political union. . . . . I believe the time has come when the statesman of British North America is unworthy the position he occupies who does not feel it his imperative duty to devote his most earnest attention to the solution of the great and important question, how the lives and property and peace of the inhabitants of British North America may not only be preserved, but guaranteed against any assault."

Sir Charles's journal continues:

"On the 28th of October the Maritime delegates, with several of the members of the Canadian Government, went to Montreal, where they were entertained at a grand banquet at the St. Lawrence Hall. Sir Richard and Lady McDonnell were also among the guests, who also included General Sir Fenwick Williams. That evening a magnificent ball was given, attended by over a thousand ladies and gentlemen. We were all presented to Sir Fenwick Williams at three o'clock the next day, and introduced to the leading citizens of Montreal. The banquet followed in the evening —Mayor Beaudry presided—General Sir Fenwick Williams responded for the Army and Navy. After the health of Sir Richard and Lady McDonnell had been responded to, the toast of the evening, 'Our Distinguished Guests, the Delegates from the Maritime Provinces,' was given. The Hon. Mr. Archibald responded for Nova Scotia, and Mr. Edward Whelan, M.P.P., responded for Prince Edward Island in an eloquent and humorous speech. He subsequently published an interesting brochure on 'Union of the British Provinces,' giving reports of the public speeches from the meeting of the delegates at Charlottetown until the signing of the Quebec resolutions on parchment at Montreal on November 5."

After the banquet the party proceeded to Ottawa, where they were enthusiastically received by a great concourse of people at ten o'clock at night. In response to loud calls, Dr. Tupper spoke from a wagon in front of the hotel.

On the way to Toronto receptions were given at Kingston, Belleville and Coburg. The delegates arrived at Toronto station at 10.30 p.m., where they were received by the Mayor and Corporation, and an address presented in which reference was made to the visit of the Canadians to the Maritime Provinces in the previous August. The delegates were then escorted to the Queen's Hotel by a torchlight procession, fireworks and bands of music. Dr. Tupper was presented by Hon. George Brown to an immense concourse of people, to whom he spoke at some length on the advantages of union, commercially and financially. They were also addressed by Mr. Tilley and Mr. Whelan. The next day the delegates were driven over the city and presented with addresses at Upper Canada College and at the University of Toronto. Dr. Tupper responded for the delegates and thanked the president and professors for their hearty welcome. A banquet was given at which Mayor Medcalfe presided.

A meeting of the delegates from the Maritime Provinces to the Conference at Charlottetown was called and held pursuant to adjournment at the Queen's Hotel, Toronto, on November 3, 1864.

All the delegates except Hon. E. B. Chandler were present. Hon. Colonel Gray was in the chair. It was resolved :

"That in view of the resolutions passed at the Quebec Conference in favour of a confederation of the British North American Provinces this Conference decide to postpone the consideration of a legislative union of the Maritime Provinces."

It was also resolved :

"That the joint secretaries be instructed to draw up a report embracing the facts connected with the proceedings of the Confer-

ence of the Maritime Provinces, to be signed in triplicate by the Chairman and Secretaries, to be submitted to the Lieutenant-Governors of those Provinces for the information of their Legislatures."

The Conference then adjourned, *sine die*.

A magnificent ball was given to the delegates in Toronto. This was followed by receptions at Hamilton, St. Catherine's and Clifton, and a visit to Niagara Falls. The party returned to Montreal on November 5, where the resolutions passed at Quebec were signed on parchment, and the delegates from the Maritime Provinces the next day returned to their homes.

On the return to Halifax of the Nova Scotia delegates, they found great opposition arrayed against the proposed confederation to which they had agreed.

One of Dr. Tupper's warmest personal and political friends, Mr. Alfred G. Jones, an influential merchant, told Dr. Tupper that all the mercantile and banking influence of Halifax, until then at his back, would bitterly oppose him unless he withdrew his support from the project. Halifax up to that time had to a large extent the banking and wholesale trade of the Province in its hands, and exercised great influence. Mr. Howe returned from Newfoundland, and seeing the opportunity of again cresting the popular wave, was unfortunately induced to place himself at the head of the opposition to Confederation. Although it was fully understood at the Quebec Conference that the question should be disposed of by the existing Legislatures, the Hon. Mr. Tilley, who had a strong reason for not wishing to meet the House, dissolved ostensibly on the question of union, and was defeated at the polls. This was fatal to Nova Scotia proceeding with the matter, as it was obvious there could be no union with Canada while New Brunswick opposed it.

CHAPTER VII

ORIGIN OF ANTI-CONFEDERATION (1864-66)

BY this time a feeling of fraternity had begun to spread among the people of all the Provinces. Social intercourse, mingled with the business of giving form and direction to Confederation, began to create a strong sentiment of friendly kinship. From the day that the Provincial Secretary introduced into the Nova Scotia Legislature a resolution for Maritime Union until the delegations at Quebec left for their homes, a wonderful unanimity had prevailed. No ominous cloud appeared on the horizon. But after the delegates, full of assurance and buoyant with hope, gave to Halifax audiences the results of the Quebec Conference, all of which had been echoed by the Press of both political parties, there was seen in Halifax a little black cloud, not larger than the one discerned by Elijah from the heights of Carmel.

Who swung open the gates of the cave and gave Nova Scotia the whirlwind of anti-Confederation? is a question often asked but not yet answered. As Joseph Howe was the superintendent of the storm, it has been assumed that he was its creator, but facts do not warrant this assumption.

The prime inspiration and promotion of this movement in its initial stage can be traced to a Halifax merchant, prosperous and honest in his large, successful business career from beginning to end. No one acquainted with the Hon. W. J. Stairs would attribute to him, in the part he took in the anti-Confederation movement, any motives other than those of fairness and honesty. He was a keen, clever financier. In the proposed Confederation he saw lasting disadvantages and injury to the Maritime Provinces,

especially to his native land, Nova Scotia. Other business men had arrived at the same conclusion. Their views were compared and discussed in private. While it was true that A. G. Archibald, leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, and Jonathan McCully, leader of the same party in the Legislative Council, had heartily co-operated with the other delegates in carrying union to its then present stage, yet it became known that the Hon. William Annand, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle,* was not in favour of the movement.

At this point, a few quotations from the published journal of the Hon. W. J. Stairs will give some light on the inquiry. He says :

" In the fall of 1864 certain delegates from the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island met at Charlottetown to discuss the Union of the Maritime Provinces. They were joined by a delegation from Canada, and the discussion of the Union of the Maritime Provinces was laid aside to take up gratuitously the discussion of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces. The united delegates adjourned to Halifax, where they were publicly entertained, and public sentiment favoured the idea of discussing the principle more seriously. This led to a meeting for the purpose at Quebec, which is known as the ' Quebec Convention ' ; and the resolutions then passed are known as the ' Quebec Scheme.' When the Nova Scotia delegates returned to Nova Scotia, they, mistaking public opinion and their position toward the public, were so elated with their share of the ' scheme ' that they undertook to pronounce for Nova Scotia her approval of Confederation. Dr. Tupper, as leader of the Government party, and Adams G. Archibald and Jonathan McCully as leaders of the Opposition and the old Liberal party, each undertook to decide for those whom they fancied they could lead. The delegates, through their friends, called a meeting at Temperance Hall, where they spent the evening in giving what they considered very conclusive arguments for adopting Confederation, the three speakers speaking in succession and no word being uttered by those who claimed to be ' Let-Alones.' A good deal of dissatisfaction was expressed at the imperious manner of the delegates. They knew of no men who would oppose them. Mr. Annand was believed to be of different

views, but the *Morning Chronicle* (his paper) was in the hands of Mr. McCully (as editor).

"*The Citizen*, a new paper, edited by Edward McDonald and Garvie, was the only newspaper in town that wrote against Confederation.

"Under the leadership of Andrew Uniacke the opposition was organised, and a night at Temperance Hall was named by the Mayor, to give the opposition an opportunity to state their case. At a preliminary meeting it was urged that the opposition speakers should be Mr. Uniacke, myself, Alfred G. Jones, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Annand."

The following letters deal with the progress of the Union Scheme in Canada:

QUEBEC, *January* 24, 1865.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I was detained in Upper Canada until last Monday, and as I telegraphed you I only then received yours of the 4th. We are now at work, as you will have seen in the House, and opened splendidly. Dorion, with his usual want of tactics, gave us a chance to divide, and we had a majority of 40. With a full House I calculate that we stand 96 to 34. The only real fight we shall have will be on a motion for a previous reference to the people, on which some of our weak-kneed friends may desert us, but on that we shall have a large majority. I expect that the scheme will be adopted without amendment, and by large majorities, which should surely strengthen your hands when you meet on 9th prox. It is to be regretted that Tilley was obliged to dissolve, but I suppose he couldn't help it. Mr. Cardwell's two objections were merely to keep him right with the House of Commons, but he will sanction our scheme without amendment if we desire it. I quite agree with you that it is advisable to carry the scheme by a resolution instead of by Bill. Before I go to bed to-night I shall frame the form of our resolution, and if approved by the Governor and Council will send it you to-morrow. I regret much that you are meeting such opposition, but I fancy your energies are equal to the emergency. I am glad to learn that McCully and Archibald are true to you. . . . It looks as if a new political combination were on the tapis. . . .

And so that marplot, Joe Howe, is stirring up strife again. I read Lord Monck that portion of your letter which referred to him (Howe). He said that he would write at once to Cardwell to get Earl Russell to choke him off.

We have had uncomfortable times of it here lately. Coursol's abominable conduct as police magistrate in discharging the raiders set all the U.S. in a blaze, and it required the most vigorous and prompt action on our part to counteract the impression. But we were equal to it. We at once re-arrested the raiders. We established a vigilant police along our whole frontier. We have raised and stationed along our border thirty companies or 2,000 men of volunteer militia, and to-day I introduce a Bill giving the Executive increased powers for preventing and repressing such outrages. The self-sufficiency of this wretched prig of a police magistrate will cost us $500,000.

Have the U.S. established the passport system along your frontier? They have with us in its most rigid form, but I have reason to believe that they will ere long relax the stringency of their regulations. I am truly glad to see that Blaine has failed in a negotiation for peace. It will be a bad day for the Colonies when the North and South join (if they do), for it bodes certain war with England.

The Governor's message with *the scheme* will be laid on the tables of both Houses to-morrow, and it is the intention of the Government to commence the discussion of the whole subject unless something should arise to prevent it, on Tuesday next. Brown wished that we should move a series of resolutions affirming the expediency of a federal union—that the time had arrived for it, and then the resolutions agreed to in conference seriatim, but I put that down. There must be but one resolution to which as many amendments may be moved as the Opposition pleases, but after they are voted down we shall affirm the whole scheme by one vote.

Faithfully yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

QUEBEC, March 10, 1865.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I am sitting in our House at 1.30 in the morning listening to the dying speeches of our Opposition against federation. I hope to tell you in a postscript what the decision will be.

When we received the disastrous news from New Brunswick, we saw there was nothing left for us but the bold game, and I announced in the House one resolution to adhere to the resolutions as passed in the conference—to ask a vote of credit—to prorogue the House and at once consult with the Imperial Government as

to the position of affairs as regards not only the union of the Provinces, but also as to reciprocity and defence. Our course has met general approbation in the House and country. I fear your Governors in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island have not been true. We must cure that in England when we go over. Tilley made a wonderful blunder in dissolving without taking a vote. I know you were always of that opinion. It was so suicidal a step that it shakes one's opinions of Tilley's statesmanship.

I shall write you as to our plans. Probably our English ambassadors will look in upon you at Halifax. You must come down to meet them. I will try to get Brydges to go with them, and you can have a talk with them on railway matters.

I find I can't get on with my letter from the noise and disturbance that is going on about me.

Yours sleepily and sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

P.S.—Vote taken at 5.30 on Saturday morning: Yeas 91, Nays 33; 58.

Owing to the failure in New Brunswick, Dr. Tupper adopted the policy of falling back on the proposal of a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces. He moved in the Nova Scotia Assembly that:

"Whereas under existing circumstances an immediate union of the British American Colonies has become impracticable; and whereas a Legislative Union of the Maritime Provinces is desirable, whether the larger union is accomplished or not; There Resolved, that in the opinion of the House, the negotiations for the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island should be renewed in accordance with the resolution introduced during the last session of the Legislature."

Dr. Tupper's object was to have an opportunity of advocating Confederation without exposing it to a hostile motion.

The session ended on May 2, and Sir Richard G. McDonnell made a strong appeal to Dr. Tupper to accept an invitation sent by the Canadian Government to join a deputation to the Imperial Government. Dr. Tupper replied on the 11th, giving his reasons for declining. His letter, a State paper

carefully prepared amid bewildering whirlwinds of public sentiment, illustrates his ability to manage politics independently in a case where, in addition to the confusion of the crisis, he had opposed to him both the Canadian and British Governments. The essential features of the letter were these: The vote in New Brunswick was hostile to Confederation, and blocked the way to action in the Nova Scotia Assembly; the School Bill just enacted added force to the anti-confederate movement; in these circumstances, a vote taken in the Legislature would certainly be against the larger Confederation; therefore, as both parties were committed to the union of the Maritime Provinces, the House could be kept united on that question, and would sidetrack any motion that might be introduced on the general union. By taking this course, he believed he could hold his forces together and give no chance for any hostile combination. To him, so he argued, this course was safe, sound and expedient. But to comply with Lord Monck's request to unite with the other Provinces in a delegation to the British Cabinet for the purpose of advancing Confederation would certainly imperil the undertaking, so far as Nova Scotia was concerned.

After discussion in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly, it was agreed to pass Dr. Tupper's resolution for a union of the Maritime Provinces without division, on his withdrawing the preamble.

Although Archbishop Connolly had pledged himself, as has been stated, to give Dr. Tupper his moral support in passing the School Bill of 1865, he about this time wrote a letter to Dr. Tupper which showed that he had partially yielded to the opposition emanating from his own people, as the following extracts plainly indicate:

"The wisest and best in the land are now beginning to denounce the common school compulsory system in the United States, which is so much admired here as the source of nearly the wholesale apostasy of that godless people. Hold on to the present Central Board

of Education, or we must fight, and, being only a minority, we must bear in Nova Scotia the galling yoke of a servitude which no other people would brook. Holy alliances and sectarian strife will take the place of what now makes us the most united and happiest people in the world.

"I hope you will not take it amiss that I should make one suggestion regarding the school tax. For reasons I cannot easily explain it is a well-known fact that there is not a people in the whole world more unreasonably opposed to direct taxation of any kind whatever than the people of Nova Scotia. This I know in my heart is the greatest bugbear that has scared them into opposition to Confederation. This is *au fond* the cause of the whole outcry against the present School Bill.

"P.S.—No education with peace is better than the loftiest wisdom with war and dissension."

The foregoing records show how the School Bill and Confederation had become very unpopular in Nova Scotia. It was not then possible to determine where all the members of the Legislature would stand when the question should be tested. A skilful partisan Press had wrought hard and unscrupulously to destroy Dr. Tupper's power and popularity. It was not a time when an opportunist leader would have introduced another measure to make himself still more unpopular and increase the peril of the great national undertaking—the union of the colonies; but Dr. Tupper's confidence in the might of right, and the just claim his native Province had on him for a free system of schools, compelled him even in these circumstances to make taxation the basis of the Nova Scotia school system.

The account given of the extreme peril attending the discussion and passage of this measure, especially plain in Dr. Tupper's correspondence with Archbishop Connolly, puts the author of it in no uncertain light. To carry the School Bill, he advisedly took his political life in his hand and risked the loss of his personal popularity, much needed in the days of greater conflict not far in the future.

On April 15, 1865, as Dr. Tupper was on his way to

the House he met Judge Jackson, the American Consul, who informed him of the assassination of President Lincoln. The House met at 11 o'clock, when Dr. Tupper immediately moved the following resolution :

"Resolved unanimously that this House have heard with the most profound regret that the President of the United States of America has fallen by the hand of an assassin, and that as a mark of sympathy with the people who have just been deprived of their chief ruler, and of their abhorrence of the atrocious crime that has been committed, this House do adjourn until Monday next."

The resolution passed unanimously, and the House adjourned. It was a curious fact that on that day four years previously the first news of hostilities between the North and South of the United States reached Nova Scotia, and a resolution was passed by the House of Assembly deploring that event.

The session of 1865 will ever be a memorable one in the annals of Nova Scotia owing to the adoption of Free Schools based upon compulsory assessment, a measure which has been attended with results so beneficial as to change its great unpopularity into universal approval.

During this same session provision for local defence was largely increased, and means were provided for extending railways to the border of New Brunswick and to Annapolis. The completion of the St. Peter's Canal and the extension of the Hospital for the Insane were also secured.

Shortly after the prorogation of the House, Dr. Tupper received a communication from the Intercolonial Contract Company in London, stating that they were prepared to take up the construction of the railway from Truro to the border of New Brunswick. As that required the joint action of the two provinces, Dr. Tupper visited Fredericton, and it was arranged that A. J. Smith, the leader of the Government, and his Attorney-General, should go with him and Mr. Henry to London. They proceeded thence, and arranged with the Intercolonial Contract Company to

connect the two Provinces by rail. This contract was subsequently cancelled by Dr. Tupper's Government on the ground of failure on the part of the company to carry it out.

The delegates saw Mr. Cardwell, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, and he subsequently showed them a draft dispatch to the Governor-General of Canada authorising him to summon a Confederate Council, composed of representatives of all the British North American Provinces, to confer upon commercial treaties. Arrangements were made to send deputations to the West India Islands, on which Nova Scotia was represented by the Hon. James Macdonald, the Financial Secretary, and Mr. Isaac LeViscount, M.P.P.

Dr. Tupper took with him to England Provincial 6 per cent. Bonds of Nova Scotia to raise the money required to complete the Pictou Railway, about $2,000,000. Messrs. Baring and Glynn, the Nova Scotia Government's financial agents, said they could not obtain more than 95 per cent. for them. Dr. Tupper told them that he expected Confederation would shortly be accomplished, which would raise Nova Scotia's credit, and asked them to hold the bonds as a collateral security, and advance him the money at 6 per cent. This they did, and after Confederation had taken place those bonds were sold for 112 per cent.

Dr. Tupper attended the exhibition at Dublin, where among other things he exhibited a bar of gold, the outcome of the work of 120 men for ten days in mining, crushing and assaying near Halifax, which, after the exhibition was over, he sold to the Nova Scotia financial agents in London for £3,000 sterling. He also made tentative arrangements for the construction of the railway to Annapolis, which were subsequently carried out.

Of this visit to London Sir Charles says in his journal :

"It was quite generally supposed that the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia was not favourable to Confederation, but I am bound to say, after the publication of Mr. Cardwell's dispatch to Lord Monck, urging it in the

strongest manner, Sir Richard G. McDonnell gave me all the support in his power. It, however, came too late. He was 'promoted' to Hong Kong and General Sir Fenwick Williams appointed to succeed him.

"On the 31st of July I received a note from Miss Burdett-Coutts saying she would like to make my acquaintance and asking me to go to Holly Lodge to tea at 5 o'clock on the following Wednesday and stay to dinner at half-past seven. I wrote accepting. On the 2nd of August she wrote saying she could offer me a room if I could make it convenient to stop the night. This was, no doubt, to prevent my having to drive to London to dress for dinner. On the 4th she wrote asking me to bring Mr. Henry to luncheon at 2 on the Wednesday to meet the Queen of Honolulu and stay for dinner. I had the pleasure of sitting at luncheon next Queen Emma, who came with Lady Franklin, with whom she was staying. The Queen was a mulatto, quite pretty and very pleasing. I also met at luncheon the great Dr. Livingstone, the African explorer, who left on his return to Africa the next day from which he never returned. He said to me: 'To-morrow I leave for my beloved Africa once more, and God alone knows if I will ever return.' At dinner there was a large party. I took Lady Twiss in and sat on the right of Miss Coutts. My acquaintance with the Baroness Burdett-Coutts has continued until the present time, and she has shown much attention to my wife and self both at Holly Lodge and at her town house ever since."

The Administrator of the Canadian Government sent a dispatch to Sir F. Williams inviting the co-operation of Nova Scotia in a delegation to Washington to make a united effort in favour of continuing the Treaty of 1854. Dr. Tupper was appointed to discharge that duty, but at the last moment was prevented from going by illness, and Mr. Henry, the Attorney-General, went in his place. All efforts, however, were unavailing.

A strong attack was made upon the Government by Mr. Archibald respecting the contract made with Mr. Fleming for the completion of the railway to Pictou, but his vote of censure was defeated by a majority of eleven. That work was completed within the estimate, and Mr. W. A. Henry, who had drawn the contract with Mr. Fleming, was made a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, and Mr. Fleming was continued Chief Engineer of the Canadian Railway by the Liberal party.

Mr. Cardwell had sent out a dispatch dated December 3, 1864, warmly endorsing the union of the Colonies as agreed upon at Quebec. When, however, in 1865 the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick proposed to reopen negotiations for a maritime union, Mr. Cardwell said Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to concur except the question were taken up as auxiliary to or intended to promote the larger union.

The Nova Scotia Legislature met on February 22, 1866. Attention was called to the determination of the United States to abrogate the Reciprocity Treaty; the necessity imposed of finding new channels for Nova Scotia trade; and the vigorous protection of Nova Scotia fisheries.

On April 3, Mr. Miller, the member for Richmond, in a very able speech, took the House by surprise, saying that although he had strongly opposed the Quebec Scheme, he was much impressed by the desire of the Imperial Government to see a union of the British North American Provinces effected—that at the Detroit Convention, Mr. Potter, an important official of the United States, had urged the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty as the best means of forcing the colonies to seek annexation to the States; and the Fenian Brotherhood, also, had urged opposition to the proposed union as the best means of promoting annexation. He concluded by asking the Government if they would introduce a resolution in favour of a Federal Union of British North America, leaving the details of the measure to the decision

of the Imperial Government, properly advised by delegates from all the Provinces; and added: "I promise them my cordial support to such a union."

Dr. Tupper replied, expressing his great satisfaction with Mr. Miller's speech, and said it would be necessary for him to consult the Government and his Confederation colleagues before giving an answer. On April 10, Dr. Tupper addressed the House at length upon the whole question, and concluded by moving the following resolution:

"Whereas in the opinion of this House it is desirable that a Confederation of the British North American Provinces should take place, resolved therefore that His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor be authorised to appoint delegates to arrange with the Imperial Government a scheme of union which will effectually secure just provision for the rights and interests of this Province and for the Provinces co-operating to have an equal voice in such delegation, Upper and Lower Canada for this purpose being viewed as separate Provinces."

Mr. Archibald seconded this motion, and three of his followers voted in its favour. On April 17 the motion was carried, 31 to 18.

On the meeting of the New Brunswick Legislature, a collision between the Lieutenant-Governor and his advisors took place, resulting in a general election in which the friends of union were returned to power with Mr. Tilley at their head. The House was called together, and a resolution similar to the one above stated was passed on June 30 by 31 to 8.

On April 24 a deputation of the minority in the Nova Scotia Assembly waited upon the Lieutenant-Governor, who sent Dr. Tupper the following letter:

HALIFAX, *April* 24, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have this moment been waited on by three gentlemen belonging to the Legislature, viz. the Hon. Mr. McHaffey and Messrs. John Locke and Campbell. They stated the object of their visit to be to ask when it would be convenient for me to receive a deputation consisting of the "minority" of the House or

Houses (I did not quite understand *that*) on the Confederation Resolution, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the Queen against that Act. I told Mr. Campbell, who was the spokesman, that I would send him an answer to-morrow as to the time of my reception of the deputation, or whether I could receive it, and these gentlemen then took leave of me. I therefore lose no time in bringing these circumstances to your notice and to that of your colleagues in order that I may have the benefit of your advice, for if this petition impugn the motives of the "majority" which passed that resolution or calls into question the motives of those men of both sides of the House, who agreed to it, I think the contents of the petition to the Throne in question should be seen by me as well as by your colleagues (and indeed by all concerned) before it is publicly received by the representative of Her Majesty. Be this as it may, I shall always strive to act constitutionally and thus leave the matter in your hands.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

F. WILLIAMS,

Lt.-Governor.

Here was a question involving a principle of constitutional government and the law of usage.

Dr. Tupper was prudent and did not add fuel to the fire. In the Minutes of the Executive Council of that date is found a record of his course of action. After a reproduction of the essential features of the memorial, the record contains the following statements:

"The Executive Council beg leave respectfully to offer the following observations upon the Memorial to Her Majesty the Queen, signed by five members of the Legislative Council and eighteen members of the Assembly, upon the subject of the Confederation of British North America.

"The Council fail to perceive how 'the priceless blessing of self-government,' which the memorialists profess so highly to value, is to be maintained, if the deliberate action of overwhelming majorities of both branches of the Legislature, taken after full discussion, is to be overruled by the Imperial Government at the instance of the minority.

"The Council cannot concur in the opinion that the control of

the people of this Province over their own affairs would be surrendered by uniting the British North American Provinces under one government, and they confidently expect that this Union adopted, at the earnest solicitation of the Parent State, will cement and strengthen the bonds which now connect this Province with the Mother Country.

"The statement that the Quebec Conference was held without any authority from the Legislature of this Province can scarcely be considered accurate when the fact is that all the memorialists who were in the Assembly in 1861 voted for the following resolution submitted by a Government of which Messrs. Annand and Locke were members, and which received the unanimous assent of the Legislature.

"The charge of having pressed the matter 'with indecent haste' the Council cannot understand, as more than a year was suffered to elapse after the proposal to unite these Provinces was submitted to the Legislature before any action was invited thereon. The Council emphatically deny that any 'use or abuse of Her Majesty's name' has been resorted to in carrying this question, which has not been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Ministers, who, in the paper submitted to Parliament by Her Majesty's command, declared that it was 'the determination of Her Majesty's Government to use every proper means of influence to carry into effect, without delay, the proposed Confederation.'

'The statement that the action of the Legislature gives power to 'certain gentlemen, to be selected by the Local Government, to change, modify, or overturn the institutions of the Province at their pleasure,' is best refuted by the terms of the resolution itself."

In reply to the petition that nothing be done until the matter be submitted to the people at the polls, it was shown that some of the memorialists, also Mr. Howe, had sanctioned the principle on which the Government and Legislature had proceeded in carrying into effect the scheme of Confederation. This is the comment of the Executive:

"It does not seem to have been considered necessary to refer this question to the people at the polls.

"In conclusion, the Council may state that more than a year since they submitted the proceedings of the Quebec Conference to the Legislature, that this question of the union of the British North

American Colonies has been a subject of constant discussion in this Province from that time. Yet the opponents of Union were only able to obtain the signature of 8,085 people out of a population of not less than 350,000 for presentation to the House during the present session, praying that it might be referred to the people at the polls.

"The resolution which passed the Legislature to send delegates to London was carried in the Legislative Council by thirteen to five, and in the Assembly by thirty-one to nineteen. All the members of the present Government and four members of the late Government, of which Mr. Howe was leader, united in sustaining the resolution, while but two voted against it.

"Under the circumstances the Council believe that they are fully warranted in the opinion that the public sentiment of the Province has been most emphatically expressed on this great question in the manner recognised by the Constitution of the Province and the protection of Great Britain."

An important question was agitating Nova Scotia and the other Maritime Provinces in the early part of 1866. The Canadian Government proposed to issue licences to United States fishermen to ply their nets in British North American waters. The following extracts from official "Minutes" reveal the feeling of the Maritime Provinces on the matter:

"*May* 9, 1866.

"The Executive Council having carefully considered the dispatch from His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada of April 4th, 1866, and the approved Minute of the Canadian Government enclosed therein, proposing that fishing licences should be issued to the fishermen of the United States during the present year, have the honour to offer the following observations:

"The Council regret that the Government of Canada, in a matter so vitally affecting the rights and interests of the Maritime Provinces, should have proposed a policy to the Imperial Government without previously consulting with the other colonies to be affected by the proposed arrangement.

"The Council, after the most serious deliberation, and with a view to meet the wishes both of the Imperial Government and the Government of Canada, are compelled to state that they are of opinion that any concession at this moment of the admitted rights

of British subjects to the exclusive use of the inshore fisheries of British North America would be most impolitic and disastrous to the interests of British North America.

"The privilege of using these fishing grounds has been deliberately abandoned by the Government and Congress of the United States, and abundant notice was given to the people of that country, by the official announcement made more than a year ago, which abrogated the Reciprocity Treaty.

"If, under these circumstances, when the United States are exhausted by a four years' war and paralysed by an oppressive debt, any indecision is exhibited in the maintenance of these undoubted and admitted rights, and a temporising policy instituted which will be certain to be misconstrued, the Council believe that the prospect of obtaining a fair Reciprocity Treaty will be demolished, that the most injurious results will follow, and that the difficulties to be encountered in a year hence in dealing with the question will be vastly enhanced.

"At the same time the Council entirely concur in the view enunciated by the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, recommending that while firmly maintaining the exclusive right to the fishing grounds, the local Government should exercise all possible forbearance in pressing their rights and the utmost caution in selecting the cases for enforcing the extreme penalty of confiscation. In this spirit the legislation of this Province had already been modified so as to remove any reasonable cause of complaint on the part of the United States. The Council would again submit the advantages which would arise from mutual consultation between members of the Governments of these Provinces at an early day at some central place, for the purpose of arranging joint and co-operative action upon a question of such deep interest to all."

A dispatch from Mr. Cardwell, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, dated May 26, 1866, related to the Minute of Council disapproving of the policy of issuing licences to the fishermen of the United States as proposed by the Governor of Canada.

In reply to this dispatch, the Council, after reiterating the reasons first submitted against the licence system, said:

"It is not, however, necessary now to expound the numerous objections entertained in this Province to the proposed Canadian

policy; suffice it to say, that the Council entertaining the opinion that that policy would be most disastrous in its effects upon British interests, felt it their duty to respectfully submit their opinions for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

"After giving this important question the most careful consideration, the Council regret that they cannot change the opinion which they had formed, but they fully appreciate the necessity of meeting the view of Her Majesty's Government, so strongly expressed in Mr. Cardwell's despatch of the 25th ultimo, and accordingly withdraw their objection, and agree to grant the licences for the year as desired.

"*June* 22, 1866."

The history and final outcome of the device of issuing licences to the fishermen of the United States, which culminated in the Washington Treaty of 1871, is a case in evidence of the subtle insight Dr. Tupper had of the working and tendencies of expediencies in political matters. The foregoing shows that from the first he saw that this nominal licence would be, to United States politicians, a transparent veil used in a futile attempt to conceal British timidity.

CHAPTER VIII

ANTI-CONFEDERATION IN ENGLAND (1866)

SIR CHARLES says in his journal:

"When we returned to power in 1863 I had obtained a medical practice so large and lucrative that I could not afford to abandon it. I formed a co-partnership with Dr. Wickwire, and remained in the practice of my profession. I at this time held the positions of leader of the Government (which involved the leadership of the House of Assembly), and City Medical Officer, which I did not resign until during the session of 1866, when I had carried the measure for the organisation of the Halifax Hospital and Poor Asylum. In addition to these duties I wrote almost all the political leaders in the *British Colonist* when in Halifax from 1855 to 1870.

"On the 10th of April the ship *England,* bound to New York, which had sailed from Liverpool on the 25th of March with 1,200 passengers beside the crew, put into Halifax in distress. One hundred and fifty-six cases of Asiatic cholera and fifty-six deaths had occurred. The dead bodies were towed in boats behind the ship, and the pilot brought her into the quarantine station on McNab's Island. Dr. John Slayter, the Health Officer of the port, volunteered to take charge. The sick were all removed to the island and the dead buried at its southern end. Drs. Gossip and Garvie and the brother of the latter also volunteered to assist. Dr. Slayter, two priests who were among the passengers, and Rev. Mr. McIsaac, of St. Mary's, devoted themselves to the sick and dying. The most effective arrangements were made by the Government for supplying everything required, but 300 of the passengers and

ship's crew were buried on the island, and poor Dr. Slayter was attacked and died. Not one of the saloon passengers was attacked. The pilot who brought the ship in returned to Herring Cove, where he belonged. I sent Dr. Pryor there, and had the pilot's house placed in quarantine. He died, and his wife, who washed his clothing, died; and the daughter, who was the only other person in the house, was attacked, but recovered. No other case occurred at Herring Cove.

"One Sunday morning a poor man, living in a small isolated house near the shore on the outskirts of Halifax, asked me to visit his child. The moment I saw the little girl it was evident that it was the dread disease. I called a policeman and told him not to allow anyone to enter or leave the house until I returned, then drove straight to the hospital, where I arranged for a room to be completely isolated. I then took the horse out of my wagon and put it in the ambulance, drove back to the house, took the sick child, with her father and mother, into the ambulance, and placed them in the isolated part of the hospital. As soon as I saw the child I asked the mother if she had used anything that had washed ashore from the ship *England,* which was anchored about a mile distant. She said she had not. The child and mother died, and the father, who was attacked, recovered. The mother before her death confessed that she found a piece of fine canvas on the shore, and made a petticoat for the little girl. I had the house and all it contained burned the next day. No other case occurred in Halifax. No more conclusive evidence has ever been given of the contagiousness of Asiatic cholera."

Shortly after the prorogation of the Legislature in 1866, Mr. Archibald and Dr. Tupper went to Ottawa to consult with the Government. It was then arranged that the delegates from Nova Scotia[1] and New Brunswick should sail

[1] The delegates from Nova Scotia were: Dr. Tupper and Messrs. W. A. Henry, J. W. Ritchie, and Alex. McFarlane.

from Halifax on July 19, and those from Canada should sail from New York on July 21, accompanied by Lord Monck. The Government of Canada pressed the Nova Scotia Government to agree to issue licences to American fishermen for one year, to which consent was reluctantly given.

S. L. Tilley telegraphed Dr. Tupper on June 19 :

"Think arrangements can be made to send delegates at time named. Please telegraph me what you decide on fishery question."

He also wired Dr. Tupper July 11 :

"Have changes in England led you to conclude that delegation should be delayed, or do you send delegates on the 19th ? We can be ready to act with you in either case."

And again on the same date :

" You should communicate at once with Canada. Suspect they are not preparing to leave on the 21st."

Lord Monck wired Sir F. Williams, July 10 :

"Resignation of English Ministry has been accepted. I think no arrangement for going home can be made until we hear further from England."

Sir F. Williams replied :

" Your telegram just received. Lord Derby has formed administration. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia delegates leave here as arranged with you on the 19th. If agreement that Canadian delegation should go on the 21st is broken, Confederation will be destroyed by Canadian Government."

On June 20, Mr. J. A. Macdonald wired Dr. Tupper :

"The delegation cannot leave until the end of the session. We are hurrying the business as far as we can, but can fix no day for prorogation."

July 14, Dr. Tupper wired Mr. J. A. Macdonald :

"Lord Monck's telegram intimating delay just received. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick will leave on the 19th as agreed with you. Any delay on the part of Canada for reasons personally explained will undoubtedly be fatal to Confederation. This Province is con-

vulsed by Canadian policy on fisheries. Petitions against union being signed all over the country."

Again, on July 19, Dr. Tupper wired Mr. J. A. Macdonald:

"*Africa* arrived yesterday. Parliament will continue in session with no probability of meeting again until next year. New Brunswick and Nova Scotia delegates go by steamer to-night and rely upon Canadian delegates meeting them prompt in London as agreed. We speak advisedly when we say that any further delay would be most dangerous to Confederation."

After the Nova Scotia delegates were on board the *Cuba,* Dr. Tupper received the following telegram from Mr. Macdonald:

"Lord Monck refuses to go to England or to authorise a delegation from Canada to go until instructions received from new Secretary of State."

Before leaving Halifax Dr. Tupper had some correspondence[1] with the Hon. J. A. Macdonald, in which he impressed upon him the necessity of seeing that the Canadian delegates should meet the others in London, as arranged, on which matter the following extracts from a letter written by Mr. J. A. Macdonald to Mr. S. L. Tilley throw an interesting light:

"We had made great progress in our Legislature when Messrs. Tupper and Archibald were here. They pressed our early departure for England, and we felt that the public business was in such a position that we might safely agree to sail on the 21st of July. Scarcely had these gentlemen left Canada, when Lord Monck received letters from Mr. Cardwell, stating that there was no chance of a Bill being passed in the then session of the Imperial Parliament, and this was followed by the news of the defeat of the Ministry.

"Even had we sailed on the 21st of July, I do not believe that Confederation could have been carried. The settlement of the terms of the Bill (Confederation Bill for the British Parliament) is not the work of a day—it must take weeks of constant, anxious labour. . . .

"The delegates from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia went at their own risk after full notice that they would not be joined by a deputation from Canada."

[1] These letters appear in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

Anti-Confederation in England

When the Canadian Government failed, for reasons assigned, to fulfil the agreement, Dr. Tupper saw that further delay would imperil the Union scheme in London. Mr. Howe, as a delegate from the opponents of Union, armed with petitions sent by Opposition members of the Legislature and large numbers of the dissentients in the Province, had departed, and would, by employing his popular talents, leave nothing undone to defeat the passing of the British North America Act.

Immediately after arriving in England, Dr. Tupper wrote a letter to Lord Carnarvon pointing out the necessity of dealing with the question of Confederation with as little delay as possible :

ADELPHI HOTEL, LIVERPOOL,
July 28, 1866.

MY DEAR LORD CARNARVON,—Mr. Tilley on the part of the delegates from New Brunswick, and I on that from Nova Scotia, have this morning taken the liberty of asking by telegraph if it would be convenient for your Lordship to favour our delegations with an interview on Monday next, and I now venture confidentially to place before you as briefly as I can the present position of the question of Confederation, and the great necessity which exists for bringing it to a conclusion at the earliest period possible.

[After recounting the history of the Quebec Convention and the events which followed in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, leading up to the appointment of delegates, he proceeds] :

In the meantime a change of ministry took place here, and Lord Monck then declined to come or send delegates until he received an intimation to that effect from your Lordship. This final determination did not reach me until the delegates from both the Lower Provinces were on board the *Cuba* and leaving the wharf. Under these circumstances it is desirable, I think, at once to communicate to your Lordship the reasons which induce the delegates from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick to regard delay in the final consummation of this great work as fraught with the utmost hazard. In Nova Scotia Mr. Joseph Howe has organised an active and formidable opposition to the union of the Lower Provinces with Canada, and although Messrs. Archibald and McCully, who have been the leaders of the Opposition to the present Government, have co-operated with us

most earnestly on this question, and are sustained by the more intelligent portion of that party, yet the great body of the Opposition will unite with Mr. Howe to defeat Confederation and obtain power. On the other hand, the Government have rendered themselves and many of their supporters extremely unpopular by carrying a measure providing for the support of education by direct taxation. Many of the bankers and most wealthy merchants who formerly sustained us, under the impression that Confederation will injure their position, have transferred their support to Mr. Howe. The financial position of Nova Scotia is in the most flourishing condition, and the opponents of Confederation excite the masses of the people by the assertion that their taxes will be increased to sustain the extravagance of a Canadian Government, and to defend the long line of exposed Canadian frontier, while the best interests of the Maritime Provinces will be sacrificed by a Government in whose Legislature their influence will be overborne by numbers.

Just at the time when the friends of Confederation were endeavouring to meet these arguments, Mr. Galt has proposed a Budget with a large increase of expenditure, and the people of Nova Scotia are deeply annoyed at finding that the fisheries of the Maritime Provinces have been sacrificed by the adoption of the Canadian proposal to issue fishing licences to foreigners. Skilful agitators thus effectually armed with the means of inflaming the popular mind against Canada are obtaining numerously signed petitions to the Imperial Parliament against Confederation, and there can be no doubt that an appeal to the people would result in the reversal of the resolution of the Legislature in favour of union, and the defeat of the measure for many years. . . .

Mr. Howe is now in this country for the purpose of enlisting opposition in Parliament and inducing delay until a general election takes place in Nova Scotia, which, under the law, cannot be deferred beyond May next. The Legislature must be called together in time to pass the Revenue Act which expires in March next, and when it does meet there is too much reason to fear that the vote in favour of union passed last session will, from the reasons I have mentioned, be at once reversed, even by the existing Assembly. Regarding as I do the union of the British North American Colonies as essential to their security and continued connection with the British Crown, and that any delay under existing circumstances may be fraught with the most serious results, I have felt it my duty to endeavour, as briefly as I could, to put your Lordship in possession of the facts which would show the position in which this question now stands.

In the hope that means may be devised to meet the emergency and accomplish an object so much to be desired, both in an Imperial and Colonial point of view.—I remain, my dear Lord, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE EARL OF CARNARVON.

The fact that if the British North America Act were not passed soon the complications with which it was embarrassed would defeat its success, was a belief never absent from Dr. Tupper's mind. It was a race between Joseph Howe and Dr. Tupper.

Howe, by Dr. Tupper's letter to Lord Carnarvon, was defeated before the Canadian delegates set foot on British soil. Dr. Tupper ever kept his eye on the goal. That faculty for penetrating the future, discerning and comprehending new problems, related and complex, was at this time in intense and continuous exercise. The outcome of the campaign took form in his mind, and through processes which outran logic he saw the final solution. For the accomplishment, therefore, of the plan to confederate the British North America Provinces, all his energies and powers were enlisted, with the result now well known.

Sir Charles says in his journal:

"On Monday, the 30th of July, we had an interview with Lord Carnarvon, who sent an urgent cable to Lord Monck. On the next day we went to the House of Lords by invitation, and heard Lord Carnarvon on Confederation. On August 3 I called on Lady Monck, who received me most cordially. On the 4th August I dined with Colonel North, M.P., and Baroness North, where I met Sir Alex. Milne, who invited me to visit them at Inveresk. Archibald and I visited Mrs. C. D. Archibald at Lake Windermere.

"The Canadian Government, in addition to the change of government in England and the threatened Fenian attack, met with such difficulty in reference to the question of the protection of religious minorities, causing the

resignation of Hon. A. T. Galt, as to involve much delay. This made it impossible to obtain an Imperial Act from the Imperial Parliament during the existing session. The Imperial Government did all in their power to make it pleasant for us. We were invited to spend several days at Stowe, the charming residence of the Duke of Buckingham, and at Blenheim Palace, the finest place in England —both dukes were members of the Cabinet. The Earl of Carnarvon made us very welcome at Highclere, and Sir C. B. Adderley entertained us at Harms, Birmingham. We had the pleasure of meeting many leading public men, members of the House of Commons and Peers.

"From the Lakes, Archibald and I went to Newcastle, and I to North Shields, where I found my old friend Captain Arthur and his wife very glad to see me. Went at 4 p.m. Saturday to Edinburgh—Alma Hotel. . . . 14th. . . . August 21.—Henry, Ritchie, McFarlane and I had a meeting with Jeyes and O'Beirne *re* the Annapolis Railway. We went to Stowe—met Mrs. Adderley and Mr. Hardy and others at dinner. The duchess asked me for my photo and to prolong my visit. 23rd.—The duchess insisted upon my remaining until Monday. Mr. Adderley invited Archibald, McFarlane, Tilley and me to visit him at Harms Hall on Wednesday next. Received invitation from Colonel North to go to Wroxton Abbey till Monday next—engaged —returned to London 28th.

"The Duke of Buckingham drove us over to Wooton, another of his houses, about four miles from Stowe. On the way he pointed out a tavern-sign which had been swinging there more than a hundred years. 'John Huff sells good ale, and that's enough'; to which had been added, after spirits came in: 'A mistake here—Foreign spirits as well as beer.'

"Wooton had been burnt down, and after many years recently rebuilt. In doing so they came upon the wine-cellar under the debris, and found it stocked with wine.

We took back with us a magnum of port labelled 'Very old Port' more than a century before. I thought it very poor for its age.

"The Duke of Marlborough, then President of the Council, had done much to repair the effects of his father's extravagance. He told me that the great circular hall where you enter the palace had no roof on it when he came into possession. Blenheim then was full of splendid paintings, brought, I presume, from the best collections on the Continent of Europe by the famous general to whom the dukedom was given by the Crown and Blenheim by the Parliament. In going through the rooms I was much impressed by an altar-piece over the mantel by Raphael. I asked Mr. Stokes, afterwards knighted, who was visiting Blenheim at the same time, how much it was worth. He said ten thousand pounds. That painting was purchased for the nation by Mr. Childers when Chancellor of the Exchequer. He paid seventy thousand pounds for it; a striking evidence of the increased wealth of the country since 1866. It is now in the National Gallery. The duchess showed me a massive frame of solid gold containing the dispatch written in pencil on a sheet of paper torn from a soldier's account-book by the great general on horseback, using a kettle-drum for a table. In this dispatch to Queen Anne he made his humble duty to the Queen and said the God of battles had decided in his favour—that the Battle of Blenheim was won and five of the enemy's generals were imprisoned in his carriage. This is, to the best of my recollection, the substance of the dispatch. The duchess told me that great consternation was felt a few years before when this dispatch of such great historic interest disappeared, and after the utmost efforts could not be found. When search had been abandoned it was found by a bookbinder in the village within the leaves of an old Bible which had been sent there to be rebound. After that the frame of solid gold with a glass face was adopted to prevent a similar

mishap. Remained at Blenheim September 9 to 21, 1866."

Another extract from Sir Charles's journal reveals the methods of the Anti-Confederationists in England:

"It was, after all, fortunate that we went to England when we did. Mr. Howe had gone to England as soon as our House was prorogued, accompanied by Messrs. Annand and Hugh Macdonald, 'to carry the war into Africa.' Shortly after our arrival he published a pamphlet, entitled, 'Confederation Considered in Relation to the Unity of the Empire.' A copy was sent to every member of the Houses of Lords and Commons. Lord Carnarvon sent for me, September 22. He told me that this brochure had caused great consternation among the friends of the proposed Confederation; that he had just breakfasted with a large number of the members of both Houses, where the opinion was unanimous that a great mistake had been made, and that it would be ruinous to pass the Act. He put the *Star*,[1] Mr. Bright's organ in London, in my hand. This paper had been a strong advocate of Confederation; but a two-column leader that morning gave an elaborate review of Mr. Howe's pamphlet, endorsing his views in the strongest manner. Lord Carnarvon and Sir C. B. Adderley (now Lord Norton) urged me to deal with the subject at once and endeavour to stem the hostility to the measure which Howe's pamphlet had created. I promised to do the best I could. I at once wrote asking an interview with the editor of the *Star*. I received a reply inviting me to come to his office at 3 o'clock the next day. I met Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Chesson, who were then editing the *Star*. I introduced myself as the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, and said it would perhaps save time if I read a letter which I had prepared on their review of Mr. Howe's pamphlet for insertion in the *Star*, and I thought they would

[1] The *Morning Star*.

agree that if Mr. Howe did not reply to my letter they had been egregiously misled. I then read the letter. They at once said it would appear the next day, and if Mr. Howe did not promptly refute the statements I had made in it, the *Star* would be at my service. The letter was published[1] —Mr. Howe did not venture to challenge the accuracy of a statement I had made. The *Star* promptly retracted all they had said—declared they had been completely misled —and from that time strongly supported the passing of the Imperial Act.

"I then addressed myself to the work of replying to Mr. Howe's pamphlet in a letter addressed to Lord Carnarvon, which was published in pamphlet form, and a copy was sent to all the peers and every member of the House of Commons, as also to the Press of the United Kingdom. The response from all portions of the United Kingdom was such as to set all anxiety upon the action of Parliament at rest."

The letter to Lord Carnarvon was a masterly presentation of the Confederation case, which lack of space does not admit of reproduction here. It neutralised thoroughly Mr. Howe's arguments, and rendered any effective reply on his part impossible. No attempt was made to meet its arguments. Truth to tell, Mr. Howe had been tempted to take a false position, and instead of being a giant in the right, as he always had been when advocating Confederation, he became a pygmy in defence of the wrong.

[1] It was reprinted in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

CHAPTER IX

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT (1866—67)

THE following extracts are from Sir Charles's journal:

"Mr. Tilley and I went to Liverpool, by invitation of the Chamber of Commerce there, to represent Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the banquet given to Sir James Anderson on successfully picking up the cable lost the previous year and establishing permanent communication between Europe and America. Sir Stafford Northcote, the President of the Board of Trade, presided. I responded to the toast, 'The British North American Colonies,' and Mr. Tilley followed.

"Dined the next evening with S. R. Graves, M.P.; met Sir S. Northcote, Mr. F. B. Horsfall, M.P., Mr. Rankin, and a large party.

"Went with Sir S. Northcote, Mr. Graves, M.P., and Mr. Laird, M.P., to visit Laird's works, the *Scotia*, the great northern entrance to the docks, and the *Great Eastern* just in the condition in which she picked up the cable and laid it to America. They told us that the buoys attached when it was lost had been washed away, but they placed the *Great Eastern* in the latitude and longitude described in the log, dropped the grappling-irons on the bottom, and letting the ship drift, in twenty minutes they had the cable and drew it on board without difficulty.

"I dined at the Town Hall—fifty others, including the Bishop of Chichester. I responded to 'The British North American Colonies.'

"I returned to London and worked at my reply to Howe's

pamphlet. This was finished on the 17th of October, and shortly after sent to the Press of the United Kingdom and to the members of both Houses of Parliament. The Colonial Office expressed a warm appreciation of my effort, and the favourable comments of the Press were numerous.

"Sunday, October 21.—Met my dear wife and daughter Emma on board the *Cuba,* and we went to London.

"Friday, 26.—Mr. and Mrs. Ritchie, Mrs. and Miss Archibald went with my wife and daughter and self to Paris.

"On the 1st of December I sent a letter to the people of Nova Scotia in reply to a pamphlet published in London by Mr. Howe on 'The Organisation of the Empire.' My letter was published in the *British Colonist* December 13, 1866."

The following extracts from this letter show the vigour with which Dr. Tupper conducted this part of his campaign :

"Mr. Howe's scheme would be as useless as it would be unjust and oppressive. It would impoverish the treasuries of the colonies and subject their inhabitants to a conscription, and the Empire would be weakened instead of strengthened."

"The perusal of the two pamphlets, written by Mr. Howe within a few weeks of each other, affords the best evidence of the utter want of principle of the writer, and the impossibility of opposing Confederation without resorting to the most disingenuous and contradictory statements."

"Mr. Howe objected to Confederation on the ground that it would increase the existing tariffs in British America. He now advocates a scheme of taxation for Imperial purposes which must inevitably involve a very great increase in the tariffs of all the Provinces.

"Mr. Howe objected to union because it would entail additional expenditure to protect the frontier of Canada. He now asks to have the colonies taxed to support the Army and Navy of Great Britain, and declares our readiness to pay pound for pound with the English.

"Mr. Howe opposed Confederation on the ground that some of our young men might be called upon to aid in the defence of other portions of British America. He now proposes to subject every man in the colony to conscription, to fight the battles of England in every part of the world."

"It is my confident belief that the enlightened statesmen who control the destinies of the Empire will treat with the contempt which it deserves, this audacious proposal to substitute the despotism of France and Russia for the free constitutional system which has made British institutions the envy of the world."

The Canadian representatives having ultimately reached England, a meeting of all the delegates took place on November 30 at the Westminster Palace Hotel, when Dr. Tupper moved, and Mr. Tilley seconded, that the Hon. J. A. Macdonald be chairman. Colonel Bernard was secretary. It was decided that Canada should have two votes and New Brunswick and Nova Scotia one each.

After Dr. Tupper and Mr. Tilley had formally reported the resolutions passed by the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Legislatures, the Conference proceeded with the Quebec resolutions. This was continued *de die in diem* until December 24, when the resolutions were finally passed, and the Conference adjourned until Friday, December 28.

The most important matter finally arranged at the Westminster Palace Conference was the provision made for protecting the educational rights of minorities by the Federal Parliament, in case they were infringed by the local legislature.

Sir Charles's journal deals with the social side of the Conference, and says:

"On December 3, my wife, Emma and self received an invitation from Colonel and Baroness North to visit them at Wroxton Abbey, from Thursday, the 13th, to the Monday following. I had made a visit there with the Hon. Mr. Ritchie and the R.C. Archbishop of Halifax some time before my wife and daughter arrived. We met a number of distinguished visitors there on the 13th, including the Bishop of Oxford, Wilberforce, and his chaplain. The Bishop arrived alone, and when the Baroness inquired why the chaplain had not come, the Bishop replied: 'He's dead,' but added: 'I assume that, as I told him

to meet me at the station, and nothing else can excuse his not being there.' The next train brought the chaplain, who had gone early to meet the Bishop and was asleep in the waiting-room when the train left.

"At breakfast one morning Colonel North, who was a most kindhearted man, but much excited over an agitation Mr. Bright was then making in Scotland, said: 'I could enjoy my breakfast if I could see John Bright suspended from the arm of that tree'—alluding to a giant oak in front of the window. The Bishop said: 'I cannot approve of that, Colonel North—it is bloodthirsty. Now, I would enjoy my breakfast if I knew he was suspended there without seeing him.'

"The Bishop told us a good story at Colonel North's expense. Rogers, the poet, who was not a handsome man, used to walk in the middle of the street, where Colonel North one evening drove over him and broke his leg. The Colonel took him in his brougham to Rogers's house in Park Lane, went and brought the great surgeon Liston, and was with Rogers half the night. The next day he called, and the servant told Rogers Colonel North had called to see him. Rogers said: 'Who's Colonel North?' The servant said: 'The gentleman who was connected with the accident last night.' 'Tell him I'm out,' snarled Rogers.

"On Sunday we all drove to Banbury to hear the Bishop of Oxford preach the opening sermon, as the church had been undergoing extensive repairs. That evening the Bishop took Baroness North in to dinner. I sat at her other side. The conversation turned upon exclusiveness in the church. The Bishop said to the Baroness: 'You are quite right, the doors of the church should be kept open. If they are, even the Baptists, who are the worst of all, may be brought in.' The soubriquet of the Bishop was 'Soapy Sam,' and I had often heard it said that it was impossible to get him in a corner from which he could not extricate himself.

"In the drawing-room after dinner, I said: 'My lord, we have had some discussion as to what you meant in a part of your sermon, and I ventured an opinion that you meant (so and so).'

"'Why, that is exactly what I did mean; but I see you have given some attention to these matters.'

"I replied: 'My father was a Baptist minister, and my attention was naturally drawn to Biblical criticism.'

"I saw in an instant that he recollected what he had said at dinner; but his lordship was equal to the occasion. He said: 'Baptist minister, was he? Well, I can understand anyone being a Baptist; but what I cannot understand is how our Evangelical Church people can be anything else.'

"Colonel North was Captain Doyle, on leave from his regiment in India, when he met Baroness North, who was a granddaughter of the great Lord North. Captain Doyle resigned his commission, married her, and took the name of North; became a colonel in the militia, and represented Oxford in the House of Commons until after her death. They had one son, Lord North, who became of age shortly before we were there. Colonel North was an excellent man, respected by all who knew him, and the Baroness a clever and very interesting woman, much older than her husband. I have never known man and wife more devoted to each other.

"My wife and I received the Queen's commands to attend a Court for presentation, but as I had cabled to call the Legislature for the 16th of March, I wrote to Lord Carnarvon explaining that I was obliged to sail before the date fixed. In consequence, we received the Queen's commands to attend a Court on the 27th of February. This was a Court which was usually confined to the Diplomatic Corps of foreign countries and gentlemen who had received important appointments.

"At half-past twelve of that day, Mr. Macdonald, Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Tilley and myself were presented

to Her Majesty at Buckingham Palace by the Earl of Carnarvon. We were all received separately, no one being in the room with the Queen, who was very gracious, but the Princess Louise and Lord Carnarvon. The Queen congratulated me upon the success of our efforts, and when I expressed the gratification with which Her Majesty's loyal subjects would learn the deep interest she had evinced in the measure, she replied: 'I take the deepest interest in it because I believe it will make them great and prosperous.' We were all duly presented again at three o'clock, when Mrs. Macdonald and my wife were included. Lord Monck was also presented on his appointment as Governor-General of confederated Canada, and Lord Boville on his appointment as Chief Justice.

"The Hon. J. A. Macdonald was married to Miss Bernard on the 16th of February by Bishop Fulford at St. George's Chapel, our daughter Emma being the bridesmaid. Although but a young girl at that time, she resembled me so much that Mr. Smiles (the author of 'Self Help'), when dancing with her at a ball given to the delegates at the Guildhall by the Lord Mayor, asked her to introduce him to her brother.

"I had arranged to meet Lord Carnarvon in the lobby of the House of Lords when he was to introduce the Imperial Act of Union. When waiting, the Marquis of Normanby came in. His lordship met me very cordially, and assured me he would give us the most hearty support in promoting Confederation. He said: 'I told your friend Mr. Howe, when he came to me, that when he was my adviser in Nova Scotia he had not so much respect for petitions as he professed now.'[1] I thanked Lord Nor-

[1] As has been shown in an earlier chapter, after the election of 1859, petitions to the Lieutenant-Governor, Earl Mulgrave (afterwards Lord Normanby), came in from the people protesting against a Government holding power by the seduction of members who had been elected to oppose them, also by a number of members holding their seats in the Assembly contrary to law. Mr. Howe, then Premier, found it convenient to instruct the Governor that he must be

manby, and returned his courtesy years afterwards when I was requested, as one of the stewards, to propose his health at a banquet given to him on his return from Australia, where he had been a Lieutenant-Governor."

The colonial delegates finally agreed upon a plan to submit to the Government and Parliament of Great Britain. The discussion in the House of Lords was concluded by Earl Carnarvon in these words:

"In the first place, the delegates who are present in England are gentlemen accredited by their own local authorities, and they have been detained here a long time in consequence of this measure at great personal inconvenience to themselves, and I must also say to the great public inconvenience of their respective localities. I, therefore, greatly object to Parliament, without any real and valid reason, and I can hardly admit that any such reason has been urged this evening, detaining these gentlemen for a fortnight or a month longer. And then as to the question of the thirty thousand petitioners. We have never had any expression as to who these petitioners really are. I believe the population of Nova Scotia is upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand. Now, I am willing to take it as a fact on the word of the noble lord that thirty thousand are petitioners against this measure, but I must say that the evidence of that fact is wholly wanting. I understand that a petition has been presented in another place, but no petition whatever against this measure has been presented to your Lordships, and this House, therefore, is in no way cognisant of this petition. The House has simply to ascertain who are the constituted authorities in Nova Scotia, whom we are bound to listen to and whose opinion we are bound to accept. Well, it was only in June last that the Nova Scotia Parliament came to a distinct resolution in favour of Confederation—a resolution as distinct as words could express it. That resolution empowered certain gentlemen to proceed on their behalf to England to negotiate with Her Majesty's Government. These accredited gentlemen were accordingly sent, and the terms have been negotiated and embodied in this

guided by his constitutional advisers, and that confusion would attend any attempt to consider the petitions of dissatisfied constituents. Then in 1865 Mr. Howe went to London armed with petitions from minorities in the Legislature and in the country for the purpose of defeating Confederation, thus resting his case on grounds which he had in the past taught Lord Normanby to disregard; hence the gibe of the noble lord.

measure. If responsible government means anything, it means this. That you not only give to a colony free institutions and enable the inhabitants to elect their own Parliament, but you also undertake in matters of colonial policy to deal with that colony through legally constituted authorities. Any other view of the case would lead us to endless difficulty."

John Bright in the House of Commons, in the course of his speech, said:

"I do not believe at all in the right and propriety of a Legislature voting on a great question of this nature, as for example, the Legislature of Nova Scotia, if the people of Nova Scotia have never had the question put to them. . . . If this question has never been placed before the people of that Province by an election, if it has never been discussed and decided at the hustings, seeing that only two or three months will elapse before there will be an opportunity to ascertain the opinion of the population of Nova Scotia, I think it is at least a hazardous proceeding to pass the Bill through Parliament, putting Nova Scotia into it until the clear opinions of the Province have been obtained. . . . For my part, I want the population of those countries to do what they consider best for their own interests."

With some changes, the Quebec Scheme passed both Houses of Parliament and, having received the Royal Assent, became law. The delegates returned, those sent by the Government with the calm gratification of victors, and those sent by zealous anti-Confederates, in the grim mood of defeat. Confederation had been taken out of the conditions of uncertainty and firmly grounded in reality. The strenuous work, lasting from 1864 until 1867, of grappling with essential difficulties, largely augmented by incidental opposition, of creating a dominion out of four disjointed Provinces, not yet united even by a railway, had been accomplished. The colonies had ceased to exist as separate dependencies of the Crown and begun to make history as a part of a great nationality included in the British Empire.

On March 16, 1867, the leader of the Government, Dr. Tupper, had returned from England, and was in his place

at the opening of the Legislature which he had summoned by cablegram from England. In the Governor's speech may be found the following reference to Confederation :

"I rejoice to be able to congratulate you upon the success which has attended the Delegation sent by me under your authority to confer with Her Majesty's Government on the Union of the colonies. The papers relating to this important subject will be immediately laid before you.

"In the firm conviction that the Union of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia upon the terms provided in the Bill submitted by Her Majesty's Government to the Imperial Parliament, will largely increase the prosperity of all these Provinces and contribute to the strength and stability of those British institutions which it is their good fortune to enjoy, I commend to your consideration such changes and amendments in our existing laws as may be found necessary."

The address in reply to the Governor's speech, moved by Mr. Bourinot, contained these words :[1]

"We have learned with deep satisfaction that the efforts to effect a satisfactory union of the British North American colonies have been so successful, and entertain no doubts that the best interests of these Provinces will be greatly enhanced and that their connection with the Crown and the parent State will be thereby permanently secured."

Stuart Campbell gave notice of an amendment to the address, which resolved itself into a protest against having sent the delegates to England, the declaration of a crisis in Nova Scotia's history, and a claim and demand that Confederation should have no operation in the Provinces until it had been reviewed by the Legislature and sanctioned by the people.

The following extracts are taken from Dr. Tupper's reply to those who had spoken in support of the amendment :

"As far as I am individually concerned, I need hardly tell the House that from the first hour I felt it necessary as a public man to give my earnest consideration to public matters—from the first hour I felt it due to the people, the management of whose affairs I had under-

[1] In 1865 Mr. Bourinot had opposed the Quebec Scheme, but in 1866 he had voted to send the delegates to England.

taken, to express my opinion on public questions—I have never hesitated openly, at all times and everywhere, to avow my deep and settled conviction that in a Union of British North America lay the only great future for any part of these Provinces. True to these principles, whether in power or in opposition, to the best of my ability, I have advocated and sustained these views. I pledged myself to my countrymen, at all times and under all circumstances, that whatever power and influence they might put in my hands, I would feel bound to use for the purpose of advancing the interests, elevating the character and promoting the security of our common country by a union of British North America. Believing as I do that not only the most marked prosperity would have followed, but that the only security and guarantee for the continued possession of British principles in any portion of British North America was involved in that great question, I have never hesitated to declare my opinion that it would have been wise on the part of Nova Scotia to have entered into that union under the terms proposed by the Quebec Scheme. . . .

"I was reminded in 1860, after my lecture in St. John and elsewhere, that my sentiments were not novel, that they were borrowed from my political opponents, and that the gentleman then at their head, Mr. Howe, was one of the originators, as I have never denied he was, of this great scheme of union. I felt that there was no originality in my views, that all I had endeavoured to do was to give form and substance to the question—to pledge myself as a public man, devoted to the service of the country, to promote the consummation of this great scheme. . . .

"It was stated that if the British Government had had only proper information on this question—if that dark cloud which prevented them from seeing the real facts of the case was only blown away, they would sustain the views of the gentlemen opposite. . . . But let me ask when these gentlemen were advocating responsible government in this country, what did they tell us they were going to give us? The institutions of Republican America? No. They said they intended to give us responsible government, so that the people in this country might be governed in precisely the same manner that the people in the British Islands are governed. Who are the interpreters of the British system? When gentlemen raise an issue on constitutional practice, they should sustain their course by reference to the authority from the country from which we take our system. The whole question was put before the statesmen and people of England by a gentleman, second in ability to none in this country, who is one of those who can almost make the worst appear the better reason, who can put his views

before the public in the most conclusive manner that it is possible to place them. Now when this gentleman, Mr. Howe, has exhausted months in enunciating his views before the statesmen of the Mother Country, what did Lord Carnarvon say after a full consideration of the whole question?

"Lord Carnarvon said:—'The House has simply to ascertain who are the constituted authorities of Nova Scotia whom we are bound to listen to and whose opinion we are bound to accept.' Well, it was only in April last that that Parliament came to a distinct resolution in favour of Confederation, a resolution as distinct as words could express it.

"In fact, we have the opinion of the statesmen and the Press of all parties in England in support of the principle—that our Legislature has the authority of legislating on all matters touching the constitution for the country, save when it conflicts with Imperial interests.

"Not only is this scheme the very means by which British America can remain British America—by which we can retain the free British institutions which it is our pride and our happiness to possess—but opens up to these countries an avenue of prosperity such as was never offered to any people before. Therefore I say this measure of union instead of increasing the burthens of the people, is effected upon terms which are going to continue us under the ægis of Great Britain—to preserve to us her free institutions, to give us the largest amount of prosperity; all this too with an immunity from burthens that might well make us the envy of the world."

After a discussion of two days, a resolution to refer the Imperial Confederation Act to the people was negatived by a vote of 32 to 16. Three of Mr. Archibald's supporters voted with him against the amendment. Dr. Tupper introduced a Bill amending the local constitution by abolishing the office of Financial Secretary and devolving the duties of that office upon the Provincial Secretary, and reducing the salary of the latter to £600 a year. The office of Deputy Secretary would also be abolished, but there would be a Chief Clerk with $1,200 a year. The Bill abolished also the office of Solicitor-General, and reduced the salary of Attorney-General to £400 a year. It also abolished the office of Chairman of the Board of Works. A Treasurer would be appointed with £500 a year who must have a seat

in the Legislature, who would have a Clerk of the Works and a Clerk of Mines under him at $1,000 a year each. Dr. Tupper introduced also a Bill preventing dual representation or seats in the local Legislature and general Parliament being held by the same person. This became law and was subsequently adopted by the House of Commons. He also introduced a Bill reducing the number of members of the local Legislature to thirty-eight, which also became law, and has never been changed, although strongly opposed at the time. An Act was passed incorporating the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company, under which that railway was constructed.

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST CONFEDERATION GOVERNMENT (1867—68)

THE Roman Catholic Archbishop and all the leading friends of Confederation in Halifax were very urgent that Dr. Tupper should run for Halifax with Mr. John Tobin for the House of Commons. In response to a large and influential requisition, he had decided to do so, leaving the seat in Cumberland to Mr. McFarlane. Before, however, he had answered the requisition, a strong agitation arose among the Roman Catholics to have an Act passed giving them separate schools, so that they might have the advantage given under the Imperial Act to minorities. The Archbishop wrote to Dr. Tupper saying that he found he could secure him the general support of his people in Halifax only if he would support such a measure. Dr. Tupper was very indignant, and his final decision was indicated by a card over his signature published in the *British Colonist* pledging himself to stand for Cumberland.

The following form of resolution was sent to Dr. Tupper by the Archbishop, with a note saying unless it was carried in the Nova Scotia Legislature he could not hold his people together in his support:

"Whereas the people of the Province of Nova Scotia are about entering into Confederation with the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada; and whereas it is of the highest importance that all Protestant and Catholic minorities throughout the several school districts should enjoy the same rights and privileges regarding education, as those enjoyed by their fellow subjects in the two Canadas or in any other part of the Confederacy;

"Therefore resolved, that the School Law in Nova Scotia be assimilated to that now prevailing in Upper and Lower Canada, on the

subject of the education of religious minorities, whether Protestant or Catholic."

To this, Dr. Tupper replied in a letter which concluded:

"In view of all these considerations I trust your Grace will not press for the consideration of this measure by the present Legislature, as I am satisfied such a policy would be most disastrous to the best interests of your own people to whom you are so devoted."

Other correspondence was as follows:

Good Friday, 1867, *Noon.*

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I suppose you are half angry with me, but if you have reason to be agitated and displeased with politics so has your humble servant to a very large extent.

Messrs. Power and Cochrane are out, and there is not an hour to be lost in filling up your list for Ottawa and Halifax, and then we go at them right away. If anything, be it ever so little, can be done for the school business it will help you and me immensely. If not, the priests and myself are still with you, but let neither J. Tobin nor yourself speak or vote against anything of that kind or it would be certainly fatal. . . . Energetic action is now required, and prudence and caution still more. We are thinking of sending a written protest to Power and Cochrane to-day, signed by myself and all the priests. What think you? Try and get Dr. Binney's signature to your requisition. Mine and that of all my priests is at your service if you think it would not injure you with Protestants—you have to decide that. I thought I had forwarded the enclosed note from P. Power. Would that the House had concluded its business. Frequent conferences should be held for the next week. I must come out at once in some ostensible form, as otherwise some of our people may be pledged beforehand.

Let me see you soon, and here I am,—Your ready and fighting friend,

THOMAS L. CONNOLLY.

HALIFAX,

April 20, 1867.

MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP,—You are right in supposing that I have been much surprised and deeply hurt, that after publicly committing myself to this constituency upon the distinct pledge from your Grace that the question of separate schools should not be raised until after the election, you should inform me that effective support must depend upon my aid to pass such a law during the present session. I am

well aware that you have been strongly pressed in this matter, and I am happy to be able to relieve you from embarrassment with your own people by withdrawing from the contest, which you will see by this morning's *Colonist* is already done. It is right that I should frankly inform your Grace that should a proposal for separate schools be made in the present Legislature I will feel bound for reasons already given to oppose it to the best of my ability, and should not shrink from the performance of that duty were I confident that it would terminate my public life.

With many thanks for all past favours,—I remain, my dear Archbishop, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF HALIFAX.

ST. MARY'S,
April 20, 1867.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—On public and on private grounds I deeply regret your retirement from the representation of Halifax. I regret it the more, as I take it for granted that some action of mine, whether reasonably or otherwise, is among the causes that led to this conclusion. The vindication of my share in the transaction is perfectly clear and satisfactory to myself, but it is now of little or no concern to anyone else. You and I will probably be never in the same relations again, but my views and feelings regarding your public services up to the present hour will be ever unaltered. As a duty of justice I will say all that can be urged in your favour to my two clergymen in Cumberland, and from my heart I wish you the success you merit. . . . .

Repeating again and again my unfeigned regret for this untoward event,—I am, my dear Doctor, Ever yours sincerely,

THOMAS L. CONNOLLY.

The session was closed on May 7, and in the Legislative Council an amendment moved by the Hon. M. B. Almon, protesting against the Confederation Act being passed without a reference to the people at the polls, was defeated by a vote of 18 to 12.

Shortly after the House rose, Dr. Tupper wrote to Mr. Howe challenging him to meet him at Halifax to discuss the question of Confederation. This he declined, but expressed a willingness to meet Dr. Tupper at Truro. The following correspondence took place:

The First Confederation Government

PROVINCIAL SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
HALIFAX,
May 30, 1867.

SIR,—As I learn from the *Morning Chronicle* that you have been assailing me in my absence, and that you are desirous of meeting me, I beg to inform you that it will give me much pleasure to meet you at the Temperance Hall in this City on any evening during next week that may be most convenient to you, for the purpose of discussing the issues now before the electors of this Province.—I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER.

FAIRFIELD,
May 30, 1867.

SIR,—Your note of this morning is beside me. My country engagements are numerous. I shall address the electors of Colchester at Truro on Tuesday, and at Stewiacke on Wednesday, and the electors of East Halifax on Thursday next. At any or all of those meetings I shall be happy to see you. I propose then to spend a few days in Cumberland among your own constituents and take it for granted you will be present. When these meetings are over should there be anything left unsaid we may perhaps be able to arrange for another at Temperance Hall or on the Grand Parade, where there will be more room.—I have the honour to be, Sir, Your very obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

HALIFAX,
May 30, 1867.

SIR,—I regret to find that you are not disposed to give me an early meeting at the only place capable of holding a large body of the electors and in the presence of the same men before whom you have ventured to traduce me in my absence, but I thank you for your invitation to attend the public meetings to be held at Truro and in Cumberland, when it will give me much pleasure to meet you.—I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

CHARLES TUPPER.

FAIRFIELD,
May 31, 1867.

SIR,—Having made free use of my name in the House of Assembly, where I could not meet you for four years ; having attended a political

gathering at Temperance Hall where my conduct as a public man was freely handled while I was on the sea, and having just returned from Cumberland, where in various parts of the country, without waiting for my presence, you were unsparing in your criticism and censures, you should hardly complain if for an evening or two I have followed your example. As the challenged party I have the right to choose the ground, and in selecting your own county and Mr. Archibald's you must admit that I give you every advantage.—I have the honour to be, Sir, Your very obedient servant,

JOSEPH HOWE.

They met by arrangement—Howe and McLelan on one side, Archibald and Dr. Tupper on the other—at the drill-shed in Truro. They spoke alternately, from 2 p.m. until dark, to an immense audience.

Having received a mandate from the Governor-General to form a Government, the Hon. J. A. Macdonald wrote to Dr. Tupper as follows:

OTTAWA,
May 30, 1867.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have been moving about Upper Canada since my return, and so have my colleagues. We have had our first full meetings of Council only this week. We are to be united you see on July 1, and there is an infinity of details to be worked out by that time; the personnel of the Ministry to be fixed, the offices adjusted, Lieutenant-Governors appointed, and the whole machinery set in motion. Most of these things must be done before July 1, and, therefore, no time is to be lost. I have written Tilley that we must meet by June 15 at latest here. Will you come on so as to be at Ottawa by that date, and bring Archibald with you? I am glad to say that we are to continue the Government *quoad* Canada proper on the old coalition principle. McDougall and Howland are strongly sustained by their friends and will leave George Brown nowhere. The old Conservatives as a unit support me, so that we look for a very large majority. Lord Monck will be here about June 26, just in time to be sworn in under his new commission. We must settle as to elections, keep the date silent as long as possible, and then go in to win.—In haste, Sincerely yours, JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Mr. Archibald and Dr. Tupper went to Ottawa forthwith. The Hon. George Brown had left the administration on

December 21, 1865, in consequence of a disagreement on the question of a delegation to Washington.

Mr. William McDougall and Mr. William P. Howland requested A. J. F. Blair to take Mr. Brown's place. This he did, and continued to represent the Liberal party in the coalition. The two former were invited by Mr. Macdonald to assist in forming a Government for the Dominion. When meeting for that purpose, the Hon. G. E. Cartier, the leader of the Conservatives of Lower Canada, said that he could not carry the Province of Quebec unless he had two French members in addition to himself. The Hon. A. T. Galt was indispensable as the representative of the English-speaking people of that Province. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was the only representative of the Irish Catholics in the Government. Messrs. Howland and McDougall took the ground that they could not obtain the support of their Liberal friends in Ontario unless that Province (so much larger in population) had a greater representation in the Cabinet than Quebec. Mr. Macdonald said that with six members from Ontario and five from Quebec, and two each from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, which were indispensable, the Cabinet would contain fifteen members, which was obviously too large. At the end of a week's hopeless effort to overcome this difficulty, Mr. Macdonald announced his intention of abandoning the effort and advising the Governor-General to send for the Hon. George Brown, who had called a convention of the Liberal party at Toronto for the following Wednesday to oppose any Government formed by Mr. Macdonald. Messrs. Howland and McDougall said in that event they would have no alternative but to attend that convention and go with their party. Dr. Tupper saw that the formation of a strong Liberal-Conservative Government for the Dominion, to which he attached the utmost importance, was about to end in a miserable fiasco, and determined to prevent, at any personal sacrifice, what he regarded as a national mis-

fortune. Mr. McGee, who was a warm personal friend, was confined to his room by a lame leg. Dr. Tupper went and proposed to him that they should solve the difficulty by declining to go into the Ministry, and that Dr. Tupper would provide for the representation of the Irish Catholics by the substitution of Hon. E. Kenny, the President of the Legislative Council of Nova Scotia, in his place. Mr. McGee at once cordially agreed to the proposal, and authorised Dr. Tupper to communicate their decision to Mr. Macdonald. When Dr. Tupper did so, he said that the only stipulation he had to make was that Mr. McGee should be the first person provided for, to which Mr. Macdonald at once agreed, but said: "What will you do? Will you accept a governorship?" Dr. Tupper answered: "No; I will go back to Nova Scotia, and if I can secure a seat in Parliament, I will give your Government the best support in my power."

On Monday morning, when meeting in the Council Chamber to take leave of each other, as arranged, Messrs. Howland and McDougall had their overcoats on their arms and their hats in their hands ready to catch the first train to enable them to support Brown at the Toronto Convention. They expressed their great regret at the course they were obliged to take. Mr. Macdonald said: "Sit down, gentlemen. Dr. Tupper and Mr. McGee have proposed to meet the difficulty by declining seats in the administration and providing for the representation of the Irish Catholics by the substitution of Mr. Edward Kenny in place of Dr. Tupper." The new administration was promptly arranged, and Messrs. Howland and McDougall caught the train and gave a vigorous and effective opposition to Mr. George Brown at the convention.

On July 1, 1867, Sir J. A. Macdonald—he having been created a K.C.B.—formed his Cabinet as follows:

The Hon. Sir J. A. Macdonald, *Premier and Minister of Justice.*

The First Confederation Government

The Hon. Geo. E. Cartier, *Minister of Militia and Defence.*
The Hon. Samuel Leonard Tilley, *Minister of Customs.*
The Hon. Alex. T. Galt, *Minister of Finance.*
The Hon. William McDougall, *Minister of Public Works.*
The Hon. W. P. Howland, *Minister of Inland Revenue.*
The Hon. Adams G. Archibald, *Secretary of State for the Provinces.*
The Hon. A. J. F. Blair, *President of the Council.*
The Hon. Peter Mitchell, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*
The Hon. Alex. Campbell, *Postmaster-General.*
The Hon. J. C. Chapais, *Minister of Agriculture.*
The Hon. Hector L. Langevin, *Secretary of State.*
The Hon. Edward Kenny, *Receiver-General.*

Lord Monck announced the same day that Messrs. Cartier, Galt, Tilley, Tupper and Howland had been created Companions of the Bath, but Cartier and Galt both declined the honour.

Dr. Tupper acknowledged the distinction conferred on him in the following letter:

ARMDALE, HALIFAX,
August 16, 1867.

MY DEAR LORD MONCK,—I had the pleasure of receiving recently when in the country, a letter from your Lordship, informing me that Her Majesty the Queen had done me the honour of conferring upon me the dignity of a Companionship of the Order of the Bath, in recognition of my services as one of the delegates to the Conference respecting the Union of the Colonies. I beg to assure your Lordship that I am not more gratified by the personal distinction conferred upon me than by the assurance it conveys of the deep interest felt by Her Majesty and the Imperial Government in the Union of these Colonies, a measure destined, as I believe, to increase greatly the prosperity of them all, and add new dignity to British institutions on this side of the Atlantic. Permit me, my Lord, to add that the pleasure afforded by your communication has been very much enhanced by the very kind terms in which it was conveyed.

I cannot regret that I had not the honour of forming one of your first Privy Council for the new Dominion, as I have the satisfaction of feeling that by declining a seat in the Cabinet I was enabled to present a solution of difficulties otherwise irreparable, and thus aid in the formation of a strong and useful administrative.—With much respect, Believe me to be, Very faithfully yours,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HIS EXCELLENCY BARON MONCK,
Governor-General.

The general election took place in August and September, and resulted in a large majority for the Government. Dr. Tupper was opposed in Cumberland by Mr. Annand. Howe went into the county, and a series of pitched battles were fought all over it. Notwithstanding Dr. Tupper's most persistent and vigorous efforts, he secured a majority of only ninety-four. Archibald and all the other supporters of Confederation were defeated. The hostility to Dr. Tupper's measure for free schools supported by direct taxation, the absence of himself and the other confederate leaders in England for ten months previously, the desertion of his leading supporters in Halifax, merchants and bankers, the fact that the Conservatives who were his main supporters were left, by his declining a seat in the Government, without any representation there, and the wild excitement caused by Howe's fierce declaration that the Province had been sold into bondage to Canada, aroused a storm that carried all before it. Every seat but Dr. Tupper's in the House of Commons, and all but two in the Local Legislature, were carried by the anti-Unionists.

The proposal adopted at the Quebec Conference, at Dr. Tupper's suggestion, that the seats in the Senate should be in the first place offered to the existing Legislative Councillors, and fairly divided between the two parties, was carried out.

Parliament met on November 6. Mr. Howe made a violent speech against Confederation, to which Dr. Tupper

replied. When Dr. Tupper rose to answer Mr. Howe, his sight never having been in the slightest degree impaired, on referring to a quotation in the newspaper which he said he would read, he was not a little surprised to find he could not see a word. He quoted from memory, and from that time forward was obliged to use spectacles.[1]

Dr. Tupper told Sir John Macdonald that he would not take Mr. Archibald's place in the Cabinet, although he had no doubt of his carrying the county, and Mr. Archibald was continued in office until the following April.

A Bill was passed during the first session providing for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. The Hon. A. T. Galt, on the refusal of Sir J. A. Macdonald to come to the rescue of the Commercial Bank, resigned the office of Finance Minister, and was succeeded by Hon. John Rose, who introduced a Bill regulating the rate of interest. A rather amusing incident occurred in connection with that measure. Sir John Macdonald was anxious to prevent a certain motion on the order paper being reached at that sitting, and requested Dr. Tupper to hold the House for that purpose. Dr. Tupper said: "What do you wish me to speak on?" Sir John looked at the paper, and answered: "The motion of the Minister of Finance respecting the rate of interest is before it—speak on that." Dr. Tupper replied: "Unfortunately, I am opposed to that measure." Sir John said: "Well, speak against it, then." Dr. Tupper took him at his word and spoke for an hour, until Sir John gave him a hint that it was not necessary to continue longer. He resumed his seat, and the measure, which at a previous stage was carried by a majority of 30, was defeated by a majority of 8.

[1] A report of Dr. Tupper's speech is given in an Appendix to "Recollections of Sixty Years."

CHAPTER XI

THE REPEAL MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND (1868)

THE House of Assembly in Nova Scotia, where only two friends of Confederation had been elected, passed an address to the Queen praying for a repeal of the Union. The local Government appointed the Hon. Joseph Howe, the Hon. William Annand, and Messrs H. Smith and J. C. Troop delegates to the Imperial Government to lay the address at the foot of the Throne and press for repeal.

When Parliament met on March 12, 1868, Sir John Macdonald told Dr. Tupper the Government wished him to go to England to counteract this movement, and asked him if he had any objection to Mr. Galt being associated with him on that mission. Dr. Tupper said he had not. The next day Sir John sent for him and showed him a letter from Mr. Galt declining to join him, saying Dr. Tupper's relations with Howe were so antagonistic that he did not think any good could be accomplished. Dr. Tupper told him that although he had made no objection to Galt, he preferred to go alone.

Some time before this, Sir John offered Dr. Tupper the position of Chairman of the Board of Commissioners for the construction of the Intercolonial Railway with a salary of $5,000 a year and retaining his seat in the House of Commons. He had accepted that position, and a Bill was prepared to carry out the arrangement; but having thought that matter over in relation to the new duty imposed upon him, Dr. Tupper decided to withdraw the acceptance, as he feared that it would "weaken my influence in render-

REV. CHARLES TUPPER, D.D.

REV. CHARLES TUPPER, D.D.

ing the Union of the Provinces acceptable to the people of Nova Scotia.'"[1] In the circumstances, the Premier thought it wise to accept this view of the matter, though he did so with great reluctance.

Sir John informed Dr. Tupper, before leaving, that the Imperial Government had sent a dispatch to the Governor-General declining to accede to the proposal of Canada to increase the licence fee on American fishing vessels from 50 cents to $2.00 a ton, and he wished him to address himself promptly to that question on his arrival, as it was one of great importance. He also desired Dr. Tupper to secure the assent of the British Government to the sufficiency of the provision of £4,000,000 sterling to construct the Intercolonial Railway, which was necessary to secure the Imperial guarantee of the loan.

Immediately after his arrival in London, Dr. Tupper called upon the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and discussed briefly these various questions. The Duke invited Dr. Tupper to spend the Easter holidays with him at Stowe Park, where they could go fully into these matters, and said if there were any peers or members of the House of Commons he would like to meet, he would invite them. Dr. Tupper told His Grace that he would be glad if he would invite Mr. Howe.

The following correspondence will show how these important matters were dealt with :

OTTAWA,

March 23, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—You will see by the papers that Galt regularly sold Cartier about the mission to England. It has, however, done no harm except to himself. In order to destroy the argument that your mission was hostile to Nova Scotia, and an insult to it, as Blake and Holton declared, I carefully prepared the Order in Council, a copy of which I enclose you. The debate was spirited, but is shockingly reported, in fact not reported at all. It will serve, however, to show you how necessary it is that you should adopt the most

[1] For the full text of this letter see "Recollections of Sixty Years."

conciliatory tone with your Nova Scotia friends. I trust you will be able to arrange matters with Howe, and I shall look eagerly for a telegram. I will write you next mail respecting the fisheries.—In great haste, Yours always,

J. A. Macdonald.

Westminster Palace Hotel,
Victoria Street, London, S.W.
April 9, 1868.*

My dear Sir John,—I duly received your note of the 23rd ult., and the copy of the Minute of Council. Day before yesterday I received your cable telegram respecting the fishing licenses and giving me the awful intelligence of the assassination of poor McGee.[1] It was announced in the morning papers, but I hoped against hope until your telegram came. I cannot tell you how inexpressibly it has shocked me and the very painful sensation it has created everywhere here. I enclose a notice of his death in the *Telegraph*, which expresses the universal sentiment felt towards his memory in this country.

I found the Government and all our friends here very much gratified by my arrival, as the efforts Howe and Company were making through the press, and members of Parliament, occasioned a good deal of anxiety. Until I hear from you to the contrary I will observe your instructions to keep out of the newspapers, although the opinion of the Government here and all our friends as well as my own is the very reverse.

I explained fully to the Colonial Office the views and policy of the Canadian Government, and they meet with their hearty concurrence. There will be no difficulty there. What I fear is an unpleasant discussion in Parliament. Bright has promised to bring the question forward, and I fear statements may be made which will foment agitation in Nova Scotia and encourage our annexationist opponents in the United States (vide Goldwin Smith's speech in *Times*, April 11). . . .

. . . I called and left a card for Mr. Howe (who was not in) immediately after my arrival, and saw Annand and Smith, but made no reference to politics. Last Monday morning Howe came to see me here, and we spent two hours in the most intimate and friendly, I may say unreserved discussion, of the whole question. . . . I told him if he went back to Nova Scotia and told them that before

* This and the following letter appeared in full in "Recollections of Sixty Years," and these extracts are given here to show the sequence of events.

[1] The Hon. T. D'Arcy McGee was assassinated at Ottawa on April 7, 1868.

entering upon any further antagonism they had better give the Union a fair trial he would find the Government and Parliament of the Dominion not only ready to make any practicable concession to the interests of Nova Scotia, but to give the public sentiment of the people, as expressed at the election, the fullest weight. That a seat in the Government and the position declined by myself would afford the means of doing justice to the claims of the Nova Scotia party, and that I would unite my fortunes with theirs and give them the most cordial support. He appeared deeply impressed by my statements, and said a great many civil things, but expressed his fears that if he took that course his party would abandon him. . . . The Duke has entered warmly into my views and has invited Howe and myself to visit him at Stowe Park next Monday. . . .

I have done all that I could respecting the Railway matter and the fishing licenses. The Duke referred me to Mr. Elliot for their discussion, and he assures me that he is entirely satisfied and goes with me fully as to the sufficiency of the amount provided by Parliament in Canada for the Railway, and also agrees as to the advisability of raising the licenses to $2 per ton, and will represent both matters in this light strongly to the Duke. . . . The Chancellor of the Exchequer in the one case, and Lord Stanley in the other, have to be brought to concur in the policy on both questions, had previously agreed upon them adversely to our wishes, and it is impossible to do anything that requires accord in two departments during the holidays. The mission was too long delayed. I ought to have been here a month earlier. . . . I think I have ascertained Mr. Galt's difficulty in coming with me. General Doyle tells me that Howe and his friends confidently relied upon Galt effecting with them the overthrow of your Government, and I assume Mr. Galt was too deeply committed to present himself in London with me to counteract Mr. Howe's efforts. . . .

I must also tell you that Howe suggested, although he said he could not propose it, that a commission of three English gentlemen should be appointed to report upon Confederation for the information of Parliament, etc. This could, I think, only be done without compromising the Dominion by being suggested or rather challenged by the Canadian Government in answer to the attacks on it. The effect in case of a struggle, i.e. if nothing can be done with Howe, would be to gain time and let us in Nova Scotia down easily. I told Howe that, of course, I could not suggest it, and said it was besides open to the great objection that it would keep up agitation, and prevent him and his

friends availing themselves of the present favourable opportunity of acquiring a position and influence to serve the Province. Write me fully by return of post, and give me suggestions for every alternative.—Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
April 18, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Since I last wrote you on the 9th instant, I have spent three days at Stowe, when I had an opportunity of discussing matters fully with the Duke. I think I satisfied him on the railway question, and he told me that so soon as he could communicate with the Chancellor he hoped to be able to send a message to you which I think will meet the case fully, viz.: "That the Imperial Government are satisfied with the provision made by Canada if any of the surveyed routes are adopted." I think I also satisfied his Grace that assent ought to be immediately given to raising the fishing licenses to two dollars, and doing away with the present arrangement as to notices, but this morning Mr. Elliot sent for me to tell me from the Duke that Lord Stanley insists upon the licenses not being more than a dollar, and making no alteration as to the notices. . . . Lord Stanley's policy is evidently one of abject dread of the United States, and to give them anything *British American* that they ask. I have presented in the strongest terms the fact that the licensing was only assented to by the Colonies for a single year, and that the plan proposed is practically to abandon the fisheries altogether, and keep up the existing restrictions on trade and promote continued difficulty with the United States. That the policy we propose would lead to an early renewal of reciprocity, and settle the whole question permanently. I have also urged that Lord Stanley's course will arm the malcontents in Nova Scotia with the argument that in annexation alone can that province look for protection to her most important interests.

After a very pleasant visit at Stowe and the most friendly intercourse with Mr. and Mrs. Howe for three days, he and I had a long and confidential conversation the night before he left. He expressed again his fears that if he took the course I suggested he would be abandoned by the people and defeated, but I have pledged him, in case he takes the patriotic course, my most loyal support, and, I think, satisfied his scruples on that point. He suggested that it would materially aid him in reconciling the Nova Scotia party if the Government here would throw upon your administration the duty of dealing

with the question, and I undertook to aid in that matter. If there is any faith in men I think I may consider the matter, if judiciously managed by you, *settled.* I have assured him of a seat in the Cabinet, and at the Intercolonial Railway Board for Nova Scotia members, and the fullest and most favourable consideration, financially and otherwise, for the Province from your Government. . . .

On talking the matter over with the Duke after Howe had left, he requested me to give him my suggestions as to a despatch in answer to Howe and Company, and I sat down and hurriedly wrote the paper, of which you have here a copy.[1] The Duke said it entirely agreed with his own views. I hope the course I have taken will be approved. The Duke says that your Government ought to have someone here authorised to confer with him during his negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Co., and fully acquainted with the opinions of the Canadian Cabinet.—Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain, Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD.

P.S.—The Duke says I must not leave here until the discussion is over in Parliament.

The following extract from a letter to Sir George Cartier, under date of April 30, is of interest:

MY DEAR SIR GEORGE,—I need not tell you the satisfaction I enjoyed when the Duke sent for and showed me the answer to my application—an Order in Council from the Queen conferring a well-deserved Baronetcy upon you, which I hope you will live long to enjoy. . . .

With kind regards to Lady Cartier and family, I remain, Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. SIR G. E. CARTIER, BART.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
May 2, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—The Duke of Buckingham told me on Thursday that he was still in hopes that Lord Stanley, who was "much shaken, but not quite convinced," would consent to our wishes respecting the fishing licenses. The attempt upon the life of the Duke of Edinburgh took the Colonial Minister away to Osborne at the time this matter was to have been disposed of by the Cabinet. The deadlock in political parties here just now makes it almost impossible to get anything

[1] This memo. to the Colonial Minister is reprinted in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

even considered by anybody. I told you in my last that I had seen Mr. Cardwell, and that he thought it would do great good for me to see Mr. Bright. I may tell you in passing that both Mr. Cardwell and Lord Carnarvon said that the friends and the promoters of Confederation here would have had great reason to complain if the Dominion Government had not sent me here to meet any statements that might be made by the Nova Scotia delegates.

I met Bright in the Tea-room of the House of Commons. He was very cordial, said Mr. Cardwell had sent him my pamphlet (of '66), which he had read with great interest, and asked me to come to his lodging the next day, when we spent 2½ hours discussing the question, and parted on the most friendly terms. He promised me that he would be careful to do us no harm, and seemed to think that a Committee of the House, which had evidently been proposed, would do no good. Lord Carnarvon is prepared to deal fully with the question if it comes up in the Lords. He got me to give him the most explicit information. Mr. Vernon Harcourt has been retained by the delegates, and got his brief for the bar of the House of Commons, but the Duke says he does not think it likely that the House will agree to such a proposal. If they do, I will have to petition, after he is heard, to have him answered, and Watkin suggests that Mr. Hope Scott should be retained.

I met Mr. and Mrs. Howe at a union conversazione of Presbyterian ministers last night. I called to tell him of the death of poor Weir the other day. He had not heard it and was much affected, the more so as they were formerly great friends and had not spoken since the elections. I am still sanguine that he will fall into line so soon as he has failed with the Government and Parliament. The Duke showed me the despatch, a copy of which is to be given to Howe in answer to their address, etc. It is substantially the same as the memorandum I gave him at Stowe, and will, I think, meet the case well. You must keep the seat in the Cabinet, and one at the Intercolonial Railway, and Cartier's chief militia appointment for Nova Scotia, and the vacant seat in the Senate, for Howe and his friends, as he will need them all to bring the party at once into line and put an immediate quietus upon the agitation. I am more and more convinced that the character and success of the Dominion demands the *immediate* removal of the Nova Scotia difficulty, and that it must be done at any personal, party or pecuniary sacrifice.

I shall meet several members of Parliament at dinner at Sir H. Verney's, Bart., M.P., to-night. I wrote to you for the MS. of poor McGee's "Cyrus O'Neill, or Young Ireland in America." If I had

it here I think it would take well and be of great service to his widow and children. The attempt upon the life of the Duke of Edinburgh has given increased interest to the subject here. I hope you will not give less than £500 a year to Mrs. McGee. It is the smallest sum that would do justice to his memory, and the best protection you can give to those who remain and whose duty to their country requires them to take the same loyal and patriotic stand which he did. Poor fellow, I received a letter from him, written on the 6th, just before the debate, and when he was evidently in great spirits. Will you kindly ask Messrs. Tilley, Anglin, Smith and Workman to write to Mr. Bright their experience of the ballot in the legislative elections of New Brunswick and the corporation of Montreal? I promised him that I would ask them to do so. He is preparing a great speech on the question and wishes information of its working. I hope to hear from you this evening.—Ever yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

DOWNING STREET,
May 9, 1868.

SIR,—I am directed by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government have assented to the adoption this year in the Dominion of Canada of a fee of two dollars a ton on licenses to vessels to fish in Canadian waters.

I am to add that Lord Monck will be informed by to-day's mail of this decision, and that the Governments of Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland will be apprised that there will be no objection to their adopting the same amount of fee.

The Admiralty have been requested to authorise the Admiral on the station to instruct the officers under his command that henceforth one previous warning will be sufficient before seizing any vessel fishing in transgression of the law.—I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant,

ELLIOT.

DR. TUPPER, C.B.

OTTAWA,
April 30, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I duly received your letter of the 19th instant, and note its contents. Your report is on the whole very satisfactory, especially that part of it that relates to your communications with Howe.

You will have observed that that sneak Parker brought up the

question of your appointment again for the patriotic purpose of keeping alive the irritation in Nova Scotia. He was, however, compelled to withdraw his motion. It was on this occasion that poor McGee made his last speech; and a beautiful speech it was. In it he eloquently spoke of your merits and gave Parker a most deserved castigation—within an hour afterwards he was a corpse.

From Galt's conduct with respect to yourself, and the loud exclamations of the Antis that your appointment was an insult to them and to Nova Scotia, some of our friends began to doubt the expediency of sending you to England, but I think that that is, ere this, dispelled.

On the spot you are, of course, a better judge of what to do than I can be here. After the discussions here in which we stated your mission to England was to be ready to supply authentic information to the Imperial Government, and not to enter into the arena of discussion with Howe and his party, I still think it advisable that you should not come in conflict with him before the public if you can avoid it. If, however, the Duke of Buckingham should think otherwise, it would be well for you to be guided by him in that respect.

We have introduced the Budget, and I enclose you an imperfect report of Rose's speech. It will, I presume, be elaborated by him hereafter. From it you will see that we have modified the sugar duties in order to encourage the direct West Indian trade to Halifax; that we have taken off the tonnage duties on ships, commonly known as light dues, and that we have repealed all the duties on flour, corn, corn-meal and bread stuffs generally. With all this the Antis in the House have not the candour to admit, with a single exception (Dr. Forbes), that our action is in the right direction, and they are as rabid as ever. This furore, however, is merely in public, as they all talk in quite a different strain privately, and they do not hesitate to say that they will take a different course so soon as the answer in the negative, which they anticipate, is received from the Colonial Office.

We had a Nova Scotia debate yesterday. E. M. Macdonald moved a series of resolutions in favour of secession. I send you the votes and proceedings, which will show you the result. Stewart Campbell made an admirable, statesmanlike speech, which had great effect. We hope to prorogue by the 15th or 20th May, and will have done an immense deal of work in the way of organisation.

The Antis have dwindled into insignificance in Howe's absence and I see more than ever the importance of arranging matters with him. Pray then lose no opportunity of impressing upon him the desire of the Government to engage his abilities in the public service,

whenever the action of the Imperial Government frees him from his present engagements, which, as a man of honour, he cannot throw up. I am satisfied that the joint action of you and himself vigorously pursued will create an early reaction.

You will have been sorry to hear of the sudden death of Mr. Weir, of Halifax. This leaves a vacancy in the Senate which can be kept open for the present. I have received a note from McCully almost claiming as a right belonging to himself and Archibald, to nominate to the vacancy. . . .

With respect to the Intercolonial Railway we will be able to send home most satisfactory evidence that the vote of Four millions sterling will be amply sufficient. Pray press for a favourable answer in this matter. Should there, however, be danger of an adverse reply, get the Duke of Buckingham to keep the matter open until we shall have an opportunity of submitting further reasons on the subject. We have since your departure received a series of tenders from contractors of undoubted responsibility to construct and equip the whole road by the Robinson route, as well as by others, at sums far within the four millions.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THE HON. CHAS. TUPPER, C.B.

OTTAWA,
May 25, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Thanks for your letters, which are all satisfactory. On Friday last we prorogued Parliament after a very successful session. The tone of the Nova Scotians had very much altered for the better. They are well inclined to accept the inevitable, with the exception of Jones and E. M. Macdonald, who seem as bitter as ever. Archibald and Kenny both tell me that their letters indicate that the reaction has set in. It is said the alterations in the Tariff have had a very beneficial effect. Things will remain, however, as they are until the final answer is given by the Imperial Government and the cue is given by Howe. I hope that he and you may both return soon, and that we may be able to make satisfactory arrangements with him.

The only matter that went wrong during the whole session was a measure to reduce the salary of the Governor-General from £10,000 sterling to $32,000. The Government opposed this with all their might, but there was a regular stampede of friends and foes in favour of the reduction, and no argument could avail. It unluckily so happened that the Governor's salary was the only point in the Union

Act that could well be objected to, and it was made a handle of at all the elections. Most of the young members have pledged themselves to vote for a reduction, and they carried out their pledges. There is a great cry for retrenchment just now, which originated principally in the Maritime Provinces. They were unaccustomed to our scale of salaries, and Canadian extravagance has been made a matter of daily discussion in the newspapers.

I was a good deal surprised to find that Lord Monck was very unpopular among the members of Parliament—why, I cannot say. I like him amazingly, and shall be very sorry when he leaves, as he has been a very prudent and efficient administrator of public affairs. . . . I think that Lord Monck feels the passage of the Bill a good deal, not that it is of any pecuniary consequence to him, but because the House refused to postpone the reduction during his incumbency, and made it commence from July 1. The Bill has, of course, been reserved for the Royal assent. . . . He will, however, I believe, advise the Duke of Buckingham to sanction the Bill, and it is with a view of preventing this that I write you on the subject.

I am satisfied that if the Duke writes a conciliatory despatch stating that while Her Majesty withholds the Royal assent, it is done with a feeling that Her representative should be selected from men high in rank, or political status, and a salary commensurate with the present position and great future of the Dominion is necessary to secure that object. If this despatch is sent out at once we will hear no more of it.[1] I presume that the present state of affairs gives the Duke but little time to attend to departmental matters.—In haste, Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

We voted Mrs. McGee $1,200 a year annuity and $4,000 for each of her daughters. We would have asked for more, but found an increased annuity would have caused opposition. We desired to secure a unanimous vote, and could only do so by previous agreement as to the sum.

P.S.—I find that Lord Monck will not advise the acceptance of the Bill, as I thought, but simply state the case as it is.

[1] Lord Mayo had been appointed to succeed Lord Monck, but declined the appointment on the reduction of the salary. Sir John Young consented to take it for a limited period. The Royal assent was refused to the Bill and an Act passed fixing the salary at £10,000. Lord Mayo went as Governor-General of India, where he was assassinated.

The Repeal Movement in England

OTTAWA,
May 30, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I was disappointed at not hearing from you by last mail, but was consoled by seeing your note to Archibald. We are awaiting the promised despatch from the Duke accepting our Intercolonial Railway Bill. On its receipt we will then be in a position to ask him to approve of a Coast Line leaving, of course, the actual location to the survey of the engineer. . . . You do not say when you return. I presume you will not think it safe to leave Howe behind you. It is important on every account that you and he should both be on this side of the water as soon as possible. We shall not fill up the vacancy in the Senate, nor the Railway Commissionership, nor the Cabinet vacancy until your arrival. I purpose issuing a commission for consolidating the Statute Law ere long, and Archibald has kindly agreed to serve on it. He leaves in a day or two for Nova Scotia. We have passed the Civil List Act, by which we provided pensions for retiring judges after fifteen years' service on the Bench if they are then unable to continue their work efficiently. It is understood that there will be one vacancy at least on the Bench, and I propose to recommend Archibald for it. I shall still keep him in view for a seat in the Court of Appeal ultimately should I have the disposing of such matters. Rose will probably proceed to England in a week or two on matters financial, and especially to arrange with the Home Government as to the issue of the Guarantee Loan. All accounts seem to indicate a change for the better in the feeling in Nova Scotia, and with your assistance I hope to see it put all right before our Parliament meets again.

We are threatened with another Fenian invasion, and I am satisfied that we will have another raid before July 1, unless the American Government acts vigorously. The Fenians rely much upon the Presidential contest which is now beginning to rise to fever heat. As a body they have declared that they will vote with the party that gives them the most support. The Republicans won't trust them, however, I believe, and I have little doubt that the Irish vote will, as usual, be cast in the main for the Democratic candidate.

J. A. MACDONALD.

WESTMINSTER PALACE HOTEL,
June 20, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—Your letters of May 25 and May 30 were duly received. The papers which go out by this mail will give you a full account of the debate on Bright's motion, and the result, 183

against 87 for, a majority of 96 against any enquiry. The *prima facie* case they made out was so strong and the enquiry seemed so reasonable and members of Parliament are so stupid that it was thought necessary at least to republish my speech in the Dominion Parliament in the *Canadian News*, and have a copy sent to each member of the House of Commons, which was done just before the debate came off. Had not this step been taken the division would have been very different, as I have been kept muzzled, while the other side have been in full cry. We, i.e. the Nova Scotia delegates, went to the House of Lords last night to hear the debate on Lord Stratheden's motion, the same as Bright's, but he postponed it because there was other business until nearly 7 o'clock, and nobody would have remained to the discussion. We all intend to return by the next steamer to Halifax, which sails a fortnight hence.

I have seen the Duke and advised him of the views of the Government, as stated by Sir G. E. Cartier and yourself, touching the salary of the Governor-General, and I have little doubt but that the Royal assent will be withheld. It has happened at an unfortunate time, as they must make the appointment immediately, and the position has been so lowered they will have difficulty to get a suitable person to fill the office. Write to me next at Halifax, and let me know if you wish me to come at once to Ottawa. . . . I think you ought to write a letter, with the assent of your colleagues, to Mr. Howe, which would reach him on his arrival at Halifax, expressing the desire, in the interests of the whole Dominion, that Nova Scotia should be satisfied that the wishes and interests of her people should be fully considered in the administration of public affairs, and that now that the Imperial authorities have decided that the Union must be preserved you hope he will be prepared to give you his aid, and that you had kept open the seats in the Government, Senate and Railway Board with the view of giving the most effectual assurances to the people of Nova Scotia that you looked to them to fill positions of the highest honour and greatest influence. This is, of course, only a very rough outline, which no one understands so well as yourself how to fill up. I am *sure* he will accept, but if he does not and sends your letter to the *Morning Chronicle*, I am prepared to accept the responsibility of advising it, and am confident that it must do great good *everywhere*. . . . Hoping soon to have the pleasure of seeing you—I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

SIR J. A. MACDONALD.

The Repeal Movement in England

OTTAWA,
July 4, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 20th, and hope this will meet you all safe and sound at Halifax. The debate on Bright's motion, and its results were all that could be wished. We could easily see that Adderley had been fully crammed by you, but his manner is so unfelicitous—you could have done it infinitely better yourself. I do not suppose that anything will come of Lord Stratheden's motion. I think it will be well that you should avoid letting anybody know that you had any communication with the Duke as to the question of the Governor's salary. That must be supposed to emanate solely from the Colonial Office and of its own mere motion. The knowledge that you had said anything on the matter would damage you in Canada, where the feeling on the question is very strong. As the Bill is to be disallowed, I hope Lord Mayo will come out.

I think it of great importance that you should come on to Ottawa at once and report the result of your mission, before taking any action with the view of influencing the public mind in Nova Scotia. A false step now might be irretrievable, and therefore, before taking any step whatever, we should consult together, and have united and concerted action. Pray, therefore, postpone the public meeting which you propose to call at Halifax until after your return from Ottawa, when you will be able to speak with more authority.

You suggest my writing a letter to Howe, which would reach him on his arrival at Halifax. We are, of course, very anxious to get the support and co-operation of Howe and his friends in carrying on Confederation—the only question is as to the best means of effecting it. It seems to me that if possible Howe should be induced to take the patriotic course of advising the people of Nova Scotia and particularly his friends, to accept the decision of the Imperial Government and go in heartily for Union—and that he should do this spontaneously, so that he could say, and the Canadian Government could say, that his action had not been preceded by any offers of advancement for himself or his friends of any kind. It would have a very good effect if he came out boldly and said that under the circumstances he would recommend the representatives of Nova Scotia in the General Parliament no longer to stand aloof, but to enter actively into the politics of the Dominion, and to endeavour to secure as much legitimate influence in the Government and Parliament of the Dominion as possible. And if he could be induced to go further and say that for himself, and as an earnest of his sincere desire to place Nova Scotia, under the present aspect of affairs, in its proper position, he would not

hesitate to enter into any proper arrangements for that purpose. Whether he went so far as this or not—if he at all spoke in this sense, on his speech being reported it would open the door for me to offer him and his party all the advantages which have been mentioned in our correspondence. . . .—Believe me, Very faithfully yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Of the events referred to in the preceding letters, Sir Charles says, in his journal:

"On the 7th of April I was inexpressibly shocked by receiving a cable from Sir John A. Macdonald announcing the assassination of Mr. T. D'Arcy McGee, M.P. Just before I left Ottawa, Mr. James Godwin, an Irish Catholic contractor, and intimate friend of McGee's, said to me: 'As you have more influence with McGee than anyone else, I wish you to ask him not to exasperate the Fenians any further when he speaks at a banquet which is to be given to him next week, as I am afraid they will kill him.' I did as requested. Mr. McGee replied: 'I will do as you wish, although I am not afraid; as you know, threatened dogs live long.' Mrs. Godwin afterwards told me that he spent the Sunday previous to his murder at their house. Before luncheon he wrote two letters, one to Lord Mayo, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the other to myself. In the first he advised Lord Mayo as to the treatment of Fenianism, and in the other, after a graphic description of matters in general, asked me to arrange in London for the publication of a brochure on Fenianism which he said 'for obvious reasons must be published anonymously.' Mrs. Godwin said that after luncheon he lay down on a sofa and went to sleep. As she was passing through the room he sprang to his feet and clasped his hands upon his head with an exclamation of great suffering. She said: 'Mr. McGee, what is the matter?' He replied: 'Oh, I have had such a frightful dream! I dreamed that I stood on the bank near the Falls of Niagara, where I saw two men in a boat gliding towards

the falls. I rushed to the brink and shouted to attract their attention, when they picked up their oars and rowed up the stream, and I went over the falls.'

"The next night an attack was made upon the Government for having sent me to England to counteract Mr. Howe's efforts for repeal. Mr. McGee defended my appointment in a most eloquent speech. When I received, some three weeks after his death, his letter written three days before that event, it seemed like a voice from the grave. When he was buried the grave closed over the most eloquent man in Canada, and he left behind him no greater admirer of British institutions."

So bitter was the feeling of exasperation against Confederation in Nova Scotia that many of Dr. Tupper's friends feared he would share the fate of McGee. This will be seen from the following letter received from his father:

CORNWALLIS,
April 16, 1868.

MY DEAR SON,—I presume my last letter to you reached you before your departure for London. No answer has been received. I fear your tour to England will deprive us of the privilege of seeing you as soon as anticipated. I hope, however, you may visit us in the course of the summer.

Through mercy, I and our relatives here are in tolerable health, while there is much sickness with numerous deaths.

The assassination of the Hon. T. D. McGee has caused some disquietude in mind with reference to my beloved son Charles. I know you are a man of undaunted courage. This may be well; but I entreat you not to expose your precious life needlessly. You are doubtless aware that there are very strong feelings in the minds of many against you; much caution is therefore evidently needful. I would earnestly entreat you to avoid travelling in the night, or alone in the daytime when there may be danger. You know also that there is constantly a liability, if you escape the hand of the assassin, to be hurried into eternity by the visitation of God. Do, therefore, I beseech you, earnestly strive to be in a state of preparation for the termination of this short and precarious life. How trifling is all else in comparison with the infinitely important matter. Look, then,

to Jesus, and implore mercy from God through Him. Do not allow even the most important things of time to induce you to neglect this. . . .

With sincere desires for your temporal and everlasting welfare, Your affectionate father,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. DR. TUPPER, C.B.

A letter from you would be highly prized by me.

With further regard to events which occurred in London, Sir Charles wrote:

"I was introduced to Mr. Bright in the tea-room of the House of Commons. He said to me: 'I suppose you know that I have promised Mr. Howe to move a resolution for a Royal Commission to inquire into the Canadian Confederation? But having told you that, I would be very glad to hear your side of the story.' I replied that I feared it was like locking the stable door after the horse was stolen, but that it would give me great pleasure to discuss the question with him. He invited me to go to his lodgings next morning at 11 o'clock. We spent two hours in earnest discussion. I said that under the British Parliamentary system of Government I had always understood that Parliament represented the people, and as the Imperial Act had been passed here under the authority of two-thirds of both branches of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, and subsequently approved by a similar vote, I could not understand how such action could now be questioned. Mr. Bright said: 'I do not mean for a moment to insinuate that such was the case in Nova Scotia, but I have seen very large majorities obtained in our House by very corrupt means.' I said I had been largely induced to advocate the union of the Provinces of British North America as the only means by which British institutions could be maintained in North America, as in our isolated and weak position I believed it was inevitable that at no distant day we should be absorbed by the great Republic on our borders.

"Mr. Bright replied: 'Well, Dr. Tupper, it appears to me it would be a grand sight to see one Government from the Equator to the Pole.' I retorted: 'Well, Mr. Bright, if those are your views, I would suppose you could understand public men in Nova Scotia desiring to become part of a great North American confederation without being influenced by corrupt motives.'

"Mr. Bright smiled broadly, and said: 'I confess you have me there fairly.' Finally, he said: 'I wish you to tell me frankly whether, if we carry out your views and refuse to listen to this appeal from the Legislature, is there not danger of a revolt in Nova Scotia?'

"I answered: 'I will give you a straightforward answer to your question. If the Government and Parliament of Great Britain refuse to interfere and allow the people of Canada to work out the free institutions long ago conceded to them, instead of reverting to the policy of governing them from this side of the Atlantic, which so signally failed in the past, the worst result that I anticipate will be that within six months Mr. Howe will be a member of Sir John Macdonald's Government, and I will be giving them a loyal support.'

"Mr. Bright threw up his hands, and exclaimed: 'Surely you cannot be serious in making such a statement!' I replied: 'I have given you my candid opinion, and am willing to be judged by the result. When this effort on Mr. Howe's part to break up the Union fails, as it undoubtedly will fail, he will have but two courses open to him—one to continue an agitation most disastrous to his country—the other to use the strong position he occupies with the representatives of Nova Scotia at his back to obtain all the concessions possible for his Province, and assist in making the best of Confederation. When that time comes, as I believe it will, you will find me giving him all the support in my power.'

"When we parted, Mr. Bright said: 'I will do your

cause as little injury as I can consistently with my resolution for a Royal Commission of Inquiry.'

"During the debate in the House of Commons on his resolution, June 16, Mr. Bright said: 'I may be told that Confederation was supported in the Nova Scotia Assembly by a large majority, but those who have had the pleasure of making Dr. Tupper's acquaintance know that he has a very persuasive tongue.' Mr. Bright's motion was defeated by 183 to 87.

"I met Mr. Bright some years afterwards at dinner at the Duke of Argyll's, when he said to me: 'I was very incredulous when you told me in 1868 that you expected Mr. Howe would become one of Sir John Macdonald's Ministers, but I found you were correct in your judgment, and I can assure you that no one has witnessed the realisation of your expectations with greater pleasure than myself.'

"Mr. Adderley requested me to sit in the gallery of the Commons during the debate, and the proof of his speech was sent to me there for correction, which was not an easy task. I furnished Edward Watkin, M.P., a brief for his speech, and another to Mr. Karslake, the Solicitor-General."

Of a visit to Ireland which occurred in June, Sir Charles wrote:

"Sir Michael Fitzgerald, the Knight of Kerry, invited Mr. Sandford Fleming and me to visit him at Valentia. At Killarney I received the following telegram from him on June 8.

'KNIGHT OF KERRY

To HON. CHAS. TUPPER.

'Pray let me know by wire hour of your leaving Killarney and time the driver promises to have you at ferry where my boat shall meet you.'

"We received a very warm welcome. We met there Captain Brooker of H.M.S. *Wyvern,* a man-of-war in the harbour, and his wife, who was a Miss Tupper. Sir Richard Glass, then Chairman of the Cable Co., having

heard I was going to Valentia, gave me a letter to the operator instructing him to show me everything at the station and send any messages I wished free of charge. I sent a message to my dear wife at Ottawa, and received a reply. When the cable of 1858 died after a few messages had been delivered, an impression was formed that it had been killed by the powerful galvanic battery then used, which it was supposed had fused the wire. A series of experiments were made to discover how small a battery could send a message through a wire long enough to reach Newfoundland. Miss Fitzgerald, the daughter of the Knight of Kerry, showed me her silver thimble, which contained the battery sufficient for that purpose. Galvanic power was not used sufficient to make an audible tick, but only sufficient to make a silk thread with a mirror as large as a split pea attached to it vibrate. The messages were received in a dark room with a small concealed light which played upon the little vibrating mirror. This vibration was reflected upon a white scale, and the operator read there the . . . and — — — of the Morse code. We were also shown Thomson's galvanometer, which not only indicated the exact distance of the *Great Eastern* when 1,000 miles from Valentia, but whether at that moment she was rolling to the right or to the left.

"After a most interesting visit we returned to London. Ireland was at that time in a very disturbed condition. Large rewards were being offered for the capture of Fenian outlaws who were at large. We soon discovered that the sympathy of our driver was with the outlaws.

"Sir Harry Verney, who took a warm interest in everything connected with Canada, invited me to dine on May 2 at his residence, 32 South Street, Park Lane, at 8 o'clock. I went at that hour, but the other guests came at 8.30. Sir Harry said: 'My niece, Miss Anstruther, has made this list of the guests you will meet, as I have often thought how con-

venient it is for a stranger to know who the others are.' The list contained the following names:

"Mrs. Dutton, wife of Hon. Ralph Dutton, M.P. for Cirencester, sister of General Sir William Mansfield; Prince Czartoryski; Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Peel, son of the late Sir Robert Peel, daughter of E. Dugdale, Esq., Warwickshire; Lord Wentworth, son of Earl of Lovelace, grandson of Lord Byron; Lord Houghton (Monckton Milnes); Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Clive, Guards, son of Baroness Windsor; Mrs. Grant Duff, wife of the member for Elgin Burghs; Lieutenant-Colonel Philip Smith, Guards, nephew of Sir Harry Verney, brother of M.P. for Herts; Miss Anstruther, niece of Lady Ashburton; Mr. Geffchen, minister of the Hanseatic Towns; Sir Harry Verney; Lady Verney; Miss Verney.

"I sat between Mr. Arthur Peel and Lord Wentworth, and need not say I did not reflect on the memory of Sir Robert Peel or Lord Byron. The next time I was invited to dine with Sir Harry, I was not so fortunate. I went at half-past instead of 8, and went in with the other guests, some thirty gentlemen. An old, white-haired gentleman took Lady Verney, the only lady, to the table, and I sat next to him. Dr. Cheadle, the author of Milton and Cheadle's 'Journey Through the Rocky Mountains,' was on my right. He and the old gentleman on my left got into conversation, naturally, upon the great Rupert's Land, which Canada was then about acquiring. Dr. Cheadle said: 'I am a little afraid that Canada may have trouble with the Indians.' I said: 'You surprise me very much. I thought you and Lord Milton found them very loyal to England.' He hummed and hawed, and said: 'The Hudson's Bay Company depended upon the Indians for their furs, and had to conciliate them in every way, and it no doubt made a difference.' I saw that there was something wrong, and changed the conversation. The old gentleman turned and talked to Lady Verney.

Dr. Cheadle at once said to me: 'You are quite right. The Indians will shoot a Yankee at sight, and will do anything for a British subject; but this is Mr. Adams, the American Minister, who is talking with us, and I was afraid you might refer to the disgraceful manner in which the Indians in the United States have been treated.'

"Lady Verney was a sister of Florence Nightingale, and a most interesting and accomplished woman.

"May 6.—Dined with large party at Mr. Newmarch's. He asked me to take Mrs. Newmarch in to dinner. She said to me: 'What do you think of this question of women's rights which is being so much talked about in America?' I said I was very much opposed to that agitation. She replied: 'You surprise me very much. I can quite understand the people of this old, fossilised country holding such an opinion, but I hoped for broader views from one who comes from the other side of the Atlantic. What possible objection can you have to women having the same rights as yourselves?' Finding she was an American lady, I replied: 'Well, Mrs. Newmarch, I would object to women becoming angels, and I would have a much greater objection to their becoming men.'

"I sailed on the *City of Cork* from Liverpool to Halifax on Saturday, the 4th of July, with Mr. and Mrs. Howe, Mr. and Miss Annand and Messrs. H. Smith and Troop. We had a pleasant passage, varied by shovelboard in the day and whist in the evening. Miss Annand, whom I had never met before, became sufficiently acquainted to ask me if I would like to see the entry made in her diary the first time she saw me in London. It was: 'Saw Dr. Tupper at "Foul Play," as usual.'

"The first notice we had of having reached North America was grounding on the rocks off Sambro Head in the Outer Harbour of Halifax in a dense fog at 7 o'clock in the morning. I had on my nightshirt and trousers, and was thrown against the wash-basin where I was washing

my face. I knew instantly what had happened. We were fortunately going dead slow, and the steamer was promptly backed off the rocks. I concluded not to go on deck before putting on any more clothing, as I feared she might have been so injured by the rock as to sink when clear of it. I hastily removed twelve penny pieces from my trousers' pockets, which I had won from Howe at shovelboard the day before, and went on deck. The ship's bottom was uninjured, the fog lifted, and we were soon at the wharf."

CHAPTER XII

COLLAPSE OF THE REPEAL MOVEMENT (1868—69)

AS has been seen, Mr. Howe was genial and friendly on shipboard, entering into social life as if free from all responsibility and simply enjoying a holiday; but the suspicions generated in London lingered with his fellow-delegates, and they observed him with keen criticism.

At the wharf in Halifax, Dr. Tupper was received with cheers by his friends, among whom was Mr. Tilley, who, anxious to learn the full results of Dr. Tupper's mission, had come to Halifax for the purpose of meeting him as soon as he landed. As Mr. Howe appeared on the gangway the cheering of the crowd was full and hearty. As the days passed, anti-Unionists conversed freely, and the suspicion brought to Halifax on the *City of Cork* spread abroad as an open secret among the opposers of Confederation. It was known that the local House would meet in the early days of August. Mr. Howe, anticipating this, proposed that a convention of anti-Confederates, made up of local and Dominion members and other friends, should be held just previous to the assembling of the Legislature.

Immediately after Mr. Howe's arrival in Halifax, he invited Mr. Tilley to breakfast, and discussed with him the question of anti-Union at that stage. Mr. Tilley wrote to Sir John Macdonald from Windsor, N.S., on July 17, as follows:

"Mr. Howe led me to understand that an amicable arrangement once effected, a combination or reorganisation might be made and the support of the Antis secured to work out our destiny. The rest of

his remarks amounted to this—'Appoint a Royal Commission, let it decide. If that cannot be done, let a friendly conference be opened between the Dominion Government and the leading Antis in Nova Scotia, including the members of the local Government; the Dominion Government to make some proposal for their consideration; or, if that would be inconvenient, a friendly talk to see if some agreement cannot be arrived at.' . . . Now, you will observe that this means just this: 'we will abandon our opposition to Confederation, if some concessions are made.' The reasonable men want an excuse to enable them to hold back the violent and unreasonable of their own party, and this excuse ought to be given them. He told me that the delegates, the members of the local Government, and a few of their leading friends met yesterday, and had decided upon a call of the members of the general and local Parliaments for the 3rd of August, to decide what course they had better take. (The local Legislature meets on the 6th.) He said, if any advances were made, it was of the utmost importance that steps in that direction should be made previous to their meeting. He thought a visit from you, about that time, would do much good, and we all hope that you will see your way clear to come in this direction about the first of the month. They will do nothing until that meeting takes place. I cannot but think that a visit from you, accompanied, perhaps, by Cartier, would be productive of the most beneficial results. He did not indicate what changes they wanted, and I rather suspect that the nature of the concessions is of less importance to them, than the fact that concessions have been made.

"Our future may greatly depend upon the deliberations of the next few weeks. I cannot urge too strongly the importance of your visiting Halifax before the 3rd of August; all here, who see and understand the state of affairs, agree with me upon this point. I am not an alarmist, but the position can only be understood by visiting Nova Scotia. There is no use in crying peace when there is no peace. We require wise and prudent action at this moment; the most serious results may be produced by the opposite course."

Mr. A. G. Archibald wrote to Sir John A. Macdonald, on the same date, very much to the same effect:

"An hour's conference, he wrote, between you and Mr. Howe, and a mutual interchange of views, would do more to clear the atmosphere than anything else. It would give Howe immense power—if he has the inclination, as I believe he has—to control the storm he has raised."

Collapse of the Repeal Movement

Shortly after arriving in Halifax, Dr. Tupper proceeded to Ottawa to report to the Government the full result of his mission. Sir John Macdonald wired to him to join him in Toronto. Dr. Tupper proceeded thither on July 24, and found Sir G. E. Cartier and the Hon. William McDougall with Sir John. Dr. Tupper urged upon Sir John the importance of paying a visit to Nova Scotia and conferring with Mr. Howe in person. Towards the close of the month of July, therefore, Sir John, accompanied by Sir G. Cartier, and Messrs. William McDougall, John Sandfield Macdonald, Premier of Ontario, Peter Mitchell and Dr. Tupper, left for Halifax.

The Anti-Confederation Convention assembled. Joseph Howe was made its chairman. The newspapers were not permitted to report its doings.

Sir John A. Macdonald was entertained by the Governor, Sir Hastings Doyle. From Government House on the first day of August, he sent the following note to Mr. Howe:

My dear Howe,—I have come to Nova Scotia for the purpose of seeing what can be done in the present state of affairs, and should like of all things to have a quiet talk with you there anent. I shall be ready to meet you at any time or place you may appoint. The General has given me up his office here, and if it would suit your convenience we might perhaps meet here after church to-morrow.

On the same day, Mr. Howe replied:

My dear Sir John,—I have just received your note, and will wait upon you at half-past two to-morrow.—Yours truly,

Joseph Howe.

By casting his own vote, Mr. Howe got a resolution through a committee of the Convention to permit Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir G. E. Cartier to appear before the committee to make such statements as they might desire.

In reporting his mission to Nova Scotia to Lord Monck, the Governor-General, Sir John Macdonald said:

My dear Lord Monck,—. . . Mr. Howe told me frankly that if he saw any course open to him by which he could continue to

press for repeal of the Union, with any hope of success, that he would do so, and that he had so stated to all his friends; but that he had not hesitated to declare that he would oppose any attempt at resistance to the law, either active or passive, as well as all attempts at annexation to United States.

He stated further, that the feeling of dissatisfaction was as widespread and as strong as ever, and the difficulties were so great that he did not see his way out of them.

He asked me if I had any course to suggest. I answered that the Duke of Buckingham's despatch to Your Excellency precluded you or your advisers from even contemplating the possibility of Nova Scotia severing itself from the Union, as H.M. Government had declared against the repeal, from Imperial as well as from Colonial considerations.

So soon as the prorogation takes place I am to address a letter to Mr. Howe, the terms of which will be settled between us, and which, though marked "private," he is to use among his friends, with a view of inducing them to come to his support in case he or some leading men of his party should take office.—Believe me, my dear Lord Monck, Faithfully yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

After all the bluster and counsel, wise and foolish, had been heard, Tupper, Howe and Macdonald, now understanding each other, worked together. They felt a throb of gratification when the general resolve of both Convention and Legislature was to keep all future efforts for repeal within the bounds of loyalty and constitutional usage. Disloyalty was condemned. The Ottawa missioners returned to their homes, as did the Nova Scotia senators and commoners. There then followed an extended correspondence between Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Howe. The final outcome of it was that Howe and McLelan met Mr. Rose at Portland, Maine, and there agreed upon financial terms for Nova Scotia satisfactory to Mr. Howe. Sir John Macdonald had sent a copy of Mr. Rose's financial calculations to Mr. Howe, confidentially.

The following correspondence shows how complete was the failure of the Repeal movement:

Collapse of the Repeal Movement

OTTAWA,
November 20, 1868.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—As you truly say, Howe has not only abandoned the ship "Repeal," but has burnt the ship. Now everything depends upon the game being played properly. I do not believe (though I hope I may be mistaken) that Howe will at once carry with him a majority of the anti-party. He will carry the intelligent and wealthy portion with him but not the masses. It can only be then by a coalition of the Union party under yourself and Howe that you can obtain a sufficient majority. How that is to be brought about you know infinitely better than I do.

I think you have played a very correct game in standing aloof from Howe, after having given him the assurances that you did in England, and on your return. Probably Howe would now like to be on more intimate relations with you, although he has not said anything of that kind to me. He is desirous that the Canadian Government should make some offers or concessions to Nova Scotia. It would answer but little purpose for Rose to state by letter that he was willing to go to a certain length—that might not be acceptable and the correspondence would be interminable and lead to nothing. I have been pressing him to come up here along or with McLelan to sit down with Rose and discuss the whole question, and have told him that he would be prepared to deal liberally with him. He would then return with the prestige of having secured something substantial in favour of Nova Scotia. . . .

Now, I can almost congratulate you on the triumph of your cause, and your exertions. The reaction will soon set in, unless some untoward event prevents it. I do not think that we have lost anything by the delay in the matter of the Intercolonial Railway route through Nova Scotia. . . .

Fleming thinks we have, taking everything into consideration, made the best selection, and, fortunately, it will meet the views of the people, both on the gulf shore and on the Bay of Fundy.—Believe me, Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

HALIFAX,
December 2, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I hasten to answer your letter of November 20, which I had the pleasure of receiving by the last mail. I met Mr. Howe recently at dinner at the Archbishop's, and told him that I was ready at any time when he thought I could assist him to carry

out the pledge I gave him in London to give him a loyal and hearty support, but that I had hitherto felt that the first thing to be accomplished was to obtain all the aid he could from the anti-Union party, and that work I could not assist in. He is very cordial with me, and I think knows that he can rely on the fulfilment of my promise at any sacrifice. He may wish to accomplish his work without my aid, but I hope not, as he can only ultimately succeed by obtaining the zealous co-operation of the Union party with those whom he may be able to detach from the anti-Unionists. If matters are well managed, combined we will be able at a very early day to carry decided majorities for both the general and local Legislatures.

I think you ought formally to invite Mr. Howe and the other Anti members of Parliament, and as many members of the local Government as can attend, to go *immediately* to Ottawa to discuss with the Cabinet the position and interests of Nova Scotia. All the members of the local Government would, of course, decline, and Mr. Howe, McLelan and as many others as could be induced to go would have the responsibility necessarily thrown upon them. Mr. Howe ought then to address a letter to the public saying that he was going to meet your Government to negotiate terms for the Province and that he would be prepared on his return to state the terms and take the responsibility of advising their rejection or acceptance. Your Government should give him as broad a platform to stand upon as possible and enable him to return (after being sworn in as a member of the Cabinet) and throw himself upon his constituents. A bold course of this kind will carry all before it, while a hesitating policy will do much mischief, and give Howe's opponents a great advantage. At that crisis, if Howe approves, I will come forward and unite the Union party in his support, and he will either be carried in without a contest or with a triumphant majority. . . .

I have always thought it was a great mistake for the Dominion Government to hesitate about crediting the Government here with the cost of the new Customs House and Post Office, as the case is, I think, covered in the clearest manner by the express terms of the Act. Any way it is not desirable that Nova Scotia should be too much straitened while Ontario has a surplus million already to invest. In a word, do all you can to put us right, and carry Mr. Howe through with flying colours. You should, of course, advise with Howe as to the invitation to the locals, etc.

It is obviously every way better for Mr. Howe to go to Ottawa than for Mr. Rose to come here, as so much more can be done with you all together, and there would be the difficulty you suggest about

the local Government. I got a mutual friend to put this view strongly before Howe to-day, as he had said in a recent letter that Mr. Rose might come down. I think we may *now* fairly congratulate each other that the back of Repeal is broken. What I have feared was that while this protracted negotiation with Howe was going on the Union party might be largely alienated from the support of the present Government which, in my judgment, would be a great misfortune, irrespective of the possibility of Howe and Co. in that case drawing off and going over to the Opposition, if they did not return to the ranks of the Repealers. About myself I feel no anxiety. If we can get this Union consolidated and prosperous I will be quite satisfied and willingly give the best aid in my power to anyone who will work to that end. . . . I think you did the best you could with the location of the railway through this Province.—Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HALIFAX,
December 26, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I have not heard from you since my last, but wish to make a few suggestions. I am satisfied that Howe and Company are waiting to make a stampede so soon as an answer comes from the Home Government. Would it not be worth while for you to ask Lord Monck by cable to get the Colonial Secretary to send an answer at once adhering to the policy of the Duke of Buckingham's despatch? It will effectually settle the whole question. In fact it will kill the repeal movement outright. . . .

Can you tell me what time the House will be called, that I may arrange accordingly?

Wishing you and all your domestic circle many happy returns of the season.—I remain, Yours faithfully,

C. TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B., ETC.

HALIFAX,
January 11, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 2nd instant to-day. Mr. Kenny consulted Howe about the despatch, who thought that, after waiting a day or two, it should be published if the Government here did not bring it out. It will accordingly come out to-morrow, and will, I doubt not, do a great deal of good. It was just what was wanted from the Duke of B. and C., and all that is now required is for the present Government to say that they do not intend to interfere.

I have asked my friend Grant to send you the *British Colonist*, as I wish you to see the articles I am writing on the Union question. I enclose you a letter I received from King, who opposed Mr. Howe at the last election, from which you will see that it was necessary for my organ to give its cue to the Unionist party. Howe has not obtained nearly as much support as I expected from his own party, and one principal reason was the united opposition of the local Government and the doubt whether I would aid him in the hour of need. The knowledge that such will be the case will give him the support of the Unionists and many more of his own friends, who like to be on the safe side, and will thus be assured of his success. Further silence on the part of the *Colonist* would have demoralised the Union party, and given strength to a movement among certain of our friends who are looking more to their own position than to the immediate consolidation of the Union at any cost to individuals or parties. I have no doubt of Howe's success if he now goes boldly forward, but he must take the plunge soon if he wishes to succeed and not stand too long shivering on the brink. . . .

We were all here taken by surprise by the knighthood to the Chief Justice. He has given such a straightforward support to Confederation and my School Bill that I cannot regret it, but I do hope you will move Sir John Young to ask the same honour for Mr. Johnstone. You know his high character and attainments, and that for thirty years he was the first man at the bar of this Province, and the Legislature placed him at the head of the Equity Court with the same salary as the Chief Justice. His elevation would be hailed with great satisfaction throughout the Province. Do all you can to this end, and oblige,—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

OTTAWA,
January 28, 1869.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 18th. . . . Howe and McLelan are still here, and we have come to a very satisfactory arrangement after a good deal of protocolling, which you will see in print by and by. We have made an arrangement on this basis.

We assume that the provisions in favour of New Brunswick in the Union Act are no more than fairly her due. We have calculated then that as New Brunswick came in with a debt of $7,000,000 without interest, in proportion to population Nova Scotia should be allowed to come in at $9,100,000, Canada currency.

On the same basis of population, as New Brunswick gets $63,000 per annum for ten years, Nova Scotia should get $82,000 for the same period. . . .

The despatch from Lord Granville stating that it is not the intention of the present Government to repeal the Confederation Act was mailed on the 13th inst., and is now overdue. Howe will remain here until its arrival. He will then go down with the despatch closing the door on all hopes of repeal in one hand, and the arrangement made with the Dominion Government, giving substantial relief to Nova Scotia in the other.

This concurrence of circumstances should make Howe master of the situation, and prove the final downfall of anti-ism. The arrangement here is to date from July 1, 1867, so that on July 1 next there will be $164,000 available for any local improvements. This ought not to be allowed to get into the hands of the present local Government, who would, beyond a doubt, use it for their own purposes. It will probably therefore be capitalised, and add to the annual reserves of Nova Scotia. I have told Howe that although we have made this arrangement it will be impossible to carry it in our Legislature unless satisfactory evidence is given that the concessions will make the Province accept the position. The concessions are made solely for the purpose of allaying the discontent there, and our Parliament will certainly not put this additional burden on the rest of the Dominion if Nova Scotia still remains sulky and recalcitrant. I have told him that he, being a representative man, our Parliament would accept the fact of his coming into the Administration as sufficient evidence of the pacification of the province, and if the despatch is as decided as the telegraphic synopsis of it sent us leads us to suppose, I have no doubt he will come in. It is of importance to him to have to say that he did not take office, or attempt to make the best of the present state of affairs until the arrival of the despatch cutting off all hopes of repeal. . . .

As your last letter was not marked private, and was in every way so admirably calculated to promote an entente cordiale between Howe and yourself, I showed it to him, and he was very much gratified with its tone, and the unmistakable evidence of your disinterestedness. Hereafter I think you will have no difficulty in working together.

I have read with great interest the articles in the *Colonist* on the political position of affairs, and, of course, recognise your hand in them all. I presume that you will have them printed in pamphlet form and widely disseminated. . . .

Howe wants to be the messenger of his own arrangements, so if this reaches you before he does, pray keep its contents to yourself, always, of course, excepting Archibald.—Believe me, Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir J. A. Macdonald wired Dr. Tupper January 30, 1869, that Howe had been sworn into office as a member of his Government that day, and Dr. Tupper replied as follows:

HALIFAX,
February 1, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—I need not tell you how much gratification your telegram that Howe had been sworn in to the Council gave me. I have never feared that he would attempt to recede, but I have always felt that there was danger of the Antis joining the Opposition *en masse*. The news has created a good deal of excitement here, but if Howe plays his cards well, in thirty days we will be able to carry the country from end to end. I have no fear of his success in Hants, although the rabid ones threaten loudly to-day. . . . I send you the leader written for to-morrow's *Colonist*, in which I had to announce the fact of Howe's acceptance of office, and hope you will like the way I have dealt with it. It requires delicate handling from our standpoint, but I found a good many of our quasi friends inclined to do mischief, and felt it was necessary to take a decided stand in order to keep them right. . . .—With best wishes, I remain, Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

Howe was opposed with great virulence by his former friends, who were determined to prevent his re-election in Hants. Mr. Alfred Jones led the opposition. Howe was struck down by a severe attack of inflammation of the bowels. Dr. Tupper issued a circular letter to the Unionists of the county appealing for assistance on Howe's behalf.[1]

Sir Charles says in his journal:

"Hearing Howe was completely broken down and very despondent, I went to Windsor a day or two before the contest to see him. I was greatly shocked at his appearance. I told him I was confident he would be elected, but

[1] This letter appeared in "Recollections of Sixty Years."

if defeated to do nothing rash. That I would resign my seat in Cumberland the next day, where he could be elected by acclamation. He said: 'Oh, Tupper, I could never do that.' I said I would get Pineo to resign his seat in the local Assembly, and run with him on the same day. Howe seemed much affected, and I left him in better spirits.

"The Conservatives responded nobly to my call, and Howe was safely elected; but he went back to Ottawa a broken man, and only a wreck of his former self.

"My friend the Hon. Dr. Parker, M.L.C., and myself were invited to accept professorships in the Medical Faculty of Dalhousie College, as will be seen by the following letter from Sir William Young, Chief Justice:

July 3, 1869.

"'DEAR SIRS;—I have a note from Dr. Reid, with a resolution of the Medical Faculty, recommending the Governors of the College to request you to accept chairs in the Faculty with the view of completing the course of medical instruction in the school. I am sure that I speak the sentiments of all the Governors, and feeling a warm interest in the success of the school, I am personally very desirous that you should both comply with this request, which would give the institution additional character and status, and trust that your other engagements will permit your lending it your valuable aid.—Yours faithfully,

"'W. YOUNG.'"

THE HON. DRS. TUPPER AND PARKER.

During the five years' existence of the first Dominion Parliament, various departments of the Executive were created in view of the demands of the new Dominion. Dual representation was allowed in Ontario and Quebec; but Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, foreseeing the injustice of this principle, and the confusion to which its adoption would lead, had anticipated the evil by legislation before the Union was completed.

As Dr. Tupper declined to become a member of Sir John Macdonald's Cabinet when first formed, he had no direct responsibility, after its organisation, in directing its diffi-

cult labours or bearing its heavy responsibilities; but in view of the part he had taken in Confederation, Sir John A. Macdonald was too wise a statesman not to avail himself of the advantages of his counsels.

An Act was passed for building the Intercolonial Railway, which was completed in 1876, under the supervision of Sandford Fleming as Chief Government Engineer. The four Provinces were thus linked together by this highway of transportation.

Sir George E. Cartier and the Hon. William McDougall, Canadian delegates, were sent to England to negotiate a bargain with the Hudson's Bay Company for the transfer of their vast territories to the Dominion. On her part, Canada agreed to pay £300,000 sterling and to reserve certain parts of the Dominion for the Company. In 1869 the bargain came before Parliament, and was confirmed by a vote of 121 to 15. Nine French members and A. J. Smith, from New Brunswick, voted in the minority on the ground that it was "likely to involve this Dominion in a heavy expense without any prospect of adequate remuneration." It is no matter of wonder that Conservative minds should shrink from such huge ventures, as did the fifteen who, led by Sir Albert Smith, voted against the Hudson's Bay bargain. It is at a time like this that men of vision are needed, such as the new Dominion then had in Charles Tupper and John A. Macdonald.

After the close of the session of 1869, surveyors were appointed and sent out under Colonel Dennis to survey townships in Assiniboia. In the autumn William McDougall was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor.

The matter of the Governor-General's salary came up again in the session of 1869. It was then fixed at £10,000 sterling. A motion was made for reciprocity in manufactured goods, as well as natural products, with the United States, and was defeated by a large majority. Dr. Tupper, seeing the National Policy possible in the

not distant future, opposed this form of reciprocity with all his might.

At Quebec in 1864, the delegates from Newfoundland agreed upon the terms for the admission of that island into the Union. In 1869 the Dominion Parliament made a similar offer to Newfoundland, but it was rejected by the Legislature of that Colony.

From 1867 to 1870 the Cabinet, led by Sir John A. Macdonald, contended with difficulties not a few. The difference of opinion between Sir John and Sir A. T. Galt on the bank question resulted in the latter entirely severing his connection with the Conservative party. Having advanced Canadian independence, Sir John in again offering Sir A. T. Galt the Department of Finance, coupled with the offer the condition that he would renounce his view on independence. This Galt declined to do. W. H. Howland was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, and Sir Francis Hincks was made Minister of Finance. These changes led to complications in the Cabinet difficult to adjust.

For the twelve years in the little Parliament of his native Province, Dr. Tupper, whether in the majority or minority, was a recognised power. The railway policy which had been timid, halting and irresolute in the hands of Joseph Howe, when transferred to the hands of Dr. Tupper, became bold, positive and progressive. Under Mr. Howe's premiership, from 1859 to 1863, there was no progress. The Government was hesitating and hysterical. During the following four years, Dr. Tupper extended the road to Truro and Pictou. For a quarter of a century Joseph Howe had been responsible for the free education of the country, but very little was accomplished. In the hands of Dr. Tupper it took the shape, as if by magic, of schools sustained by assessment and open to every family in the Province.

How the opposition to Confederation was dealt with by him has been told. The first heavy battle for the Union

issued in a signal victory for Charles Tupper. Here, then, ends one era in Dr. Tupper's life, and here begins another. Will he be able, surrounded by men sent from all parts of the Dominion, to hold to them the same relations he had maintained with the best that Nova Scotia had sent to her Legislature? In a fair and thorough examination of the earlier years of the evolution of the Canadian nationality may be found the true reply to this question.

From the first it was apparent that Dr. Tupper was not in the Commons to make a reputation; but was there to do hard, aggressive work. He could not be accused of disrespect to men of either party. His plainness of speech, however, convinced all who heard him that in forming his opinions on the great questions then employing the attention of Parliament, while giving due weight to the views of others, whatever their standing, it was by the exercise of his own judgment that he arrived at his conclusions. In a very short time all were convinced that his opinions, uttered with clearness and confidence, were broad-based on independent thinking and self-reliance. He judged the judgment of others with phenomenal force and courage. At this time his previously avowed opinions had been to the effect that the Union would give a higher standing to the respective Provinces; that their credit would be greater; the trade between them much increased, to mutual advantage; that Union was essential to their greatest progress and largest growth; that the character of the representation would secure justice to each Province; that consolidation would make defence easier and more efficient; and that Union would elevate the position of each Province.

The Intercolonial Railway was then making substantial progress. The turning out to drill of five thousand Nova Scotia militiamen was given by Mr. Howe as their acceptance of the Union. Even the *Morning Chronicle* admitted at this date that "it was the policy of the people of Nova Scotia to make the best of the Union while it lasted."

CHAPTER XIII

DR. TUPPER AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (1869—71)

WHILE Dr. Tupper was yet a private member of the House of Commons, it fell to his lot to share personally in the labour of settling the rebellion led by Louis Riel.

The full story of this extraordinary adventure is related in "Recollections of Sixty Years." Suffice it to say here that he penetrated to Fort Garry, carried on negotiations with Riel's representatives, and incidentally rescued the property of his daughter and son-in-law (Captain D. R. Cameron) which had been taken by the rebels.

The following are the different points taken up during the discussion with Father Richot, Riel's representative:

1. The insurgents say that they have been sold by the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada.

2. That they were not consulted.

3. That the proposed form of Government is despotic.

4. That a Governor and Council were sent from Canada to rule them without any reference to the wishes of their own people.

5. They believe that they can withstand the power of Canada, and if they wish the aid of the United States, they can obtain it by becoming a state in the Union.

To which Dr. Tupper replied:

1. They have neither been bought nor sold. The Crown agreed to pay £300,000 to the Hudson's Bay Company in order to reacquire the same rights over the country the Queen has over the other parts of the Dominion. Canada was called upon to pay that money because the North-West Territories were to form a part of the Dominion.

2. The people could not be consulted by Canada because, until this was arranged, they were under another Government. The Hudson's Bay Company even complained to the British Government because Canada sent $20,000 to be expended in opening a road to the country where the people were starving.

3. A reference to the Act will show that it was only intended for the formation of a "temporary" Government, that it expires at the end of the next session of Parliament, and was the only way in which a Government could be organised in the first instance. The law provided that the Government should be appointed by the Queen's representatives in the same way as in all the Provinces of the Dominion, and that all laws and ordinances should be not only approved by the Privy Council but also submitted to Parliament as soon as possible.

4. But three members of the Council were nominated from Canada out of a Council of from seven to fifteen, and all the other members were to be filled up from residents in the country enjoying the confidence of the people.

It was intended to establish representative institutions and place the territory in the same position as the other Provinces at the earliest moment that it was prepared for the change and desired it.

5. Canada has an enrolled militia of 650,000 men capable of bearing arms, and 40,000 men regularly trained to arms every year. The course of the United States in reference to Cuba shows that it would be hopeless to expect any aid from that Government, even should the people wish to substitute republican institutions for the authority of the Queen's rule over every part of the Dominion as much as over the people of England. The whole power of England, as well as of Canada, will be used to prevent one foot of the British possessions on this continent being wrested from the Queen by any foreign power.

In Canada the tariff is 15 per cent.

In the United States it averages nearly 60 per cent.

Under Confederation, each Province gets back from the Federal Government money enough to pay the Governor, the local Government, the Legislature, and a large amount for the local expenses of the Province.

In the United States the Federal Government contributes nothing to these expenses, which are all borne by direct taxation.

Under Confederation, each Province has the control of the public lands and all monies arising from the sale of Crown lands, mines and minerals, etc. In the United States the Federal Government takes all the money obtained by the sale of public lands. A Minute of Council has been passed by the Canadian Government declaring that during the next two years the duties in the North-West Territories shall not exceed those now imposed.

As the result of the discussion with Father Richot, Colonel DeSalaberry and Grand Vicar Thibault were at once received, and shortly afterwards a deputation consisting of Father Richot and Mr. Scott was sent by Riel to Ottawa to negotiate, as Dr. Tupper had advised, and the back of the insurrection was broken.

In connection with this adventure, the following letter from the late Sir Sandford Fleming is of interest:

OTTAWA,
March 7, 1910.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,—It is a great satisfaction to me to receive to-day your kind letter of February 23. I have a very distinct recollection of your trip to Fort Garry in 1869. In any account of the early history of the North West, it should never be forgotten, that, by taking your life in your hand on that occasion, you inaugurated the breaking up of the insurrection.

Your invitation to visit you, should I again cross the ocean, is very gratifying to me. Meanwhile it is a genuine pleasure to hear from you and learn that Lady Tupper holds her own. . . .

With the kindest regards to Lady Tupper, Believe me always, Yours most faithfully,

SANDFORD FLEMING.

The Life of Sir Charles Tupper

At the opening of the session of 1870, after Sir A. T. Galt, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. McDougall, Mr. Masson, of Terrebonne, and Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, all former supporters of the Government, had attacked Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper followed Mr. Alexander Mackenzie with a speech in defence of the Government (of which he was not then a member), which is noteworthy, as it contains the first suggestion of a National Policy in the Dominion Parliament.

The following are some of its most important points:

"Nothing had ever reflected greater honour upon the leading public men of both the great parties, who had so long and so fiercely struggled with each other, than the fact that in the presence of a great necessity, they had forgotten what was due to party, in order that they might accomplish an important measure indispensable to the progress, prosperity, and security of their common country. . . . He was persuaded that the great Reform party, who had sacrificed so much at the shrine of patriotism since the inception of the measure, would not recede from the position they had assumed when they declared, in the face of the people, that they would forget for a time the duty they owed to party, and combine with those with whom throughout their political career they had been placed in a position of the strongest antagonism. . . . The House would not forget how, in the struggle for party ascendancy, denomination had been arrayed against denomination, nationality against nationality, section against section, until the credit of Canada was dragged down to the lowest ebb, and the credit of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also imperilled, and, indeed, materially affected by the same causes. . . . From the very first hour the Government came into power, they had steadily kept in view the patriotic object which they had pledged themselves to accomplish. He had listened with the deepest attention to the criticism of gentlemen who had been former supporters of the Government as well as those who were their persistent opponents. They had pronounced the efforts of coalition to advance the great measure of Confederation entirely ineffective. He defied those honourable gentlemen to show in what respects there had been a failure. He would like them to point to the pages of history and show where as much had been done in as short a time in the case of any similar measure of national importance. That measure had consolidated four millions of people who had been previously separated in different

Provinces, embracing a territory of nearly four hundred thousand square miles exclusive of the North-West. The political systems of the Provinces had been changed and brought under one Government, without a single blow being struck. Instead of resulting in failure, the combination of parties had led to the most magnificent success. In the Province of Nova Scotia a great change had been effected in a remarkably short time ; it was only necessary to compare its present condition with that which it occupied when he first stood up to address that House, to see what the wise policy of the administration had accomplished. A calm and impartial review of the present situation of the Confederation, from one end to the other, would at once show that a great revolution had been effected peacefully and successfully, through the statesmanlike efforts of the men who had combined with the most patriotic aims in view. As regards the North-West difficulty, he entertained the most sanguine expectations that it would be speedily arranged most satisfactorily. . . .

"That territory afforded a field of immigration that could not be found in any other part of British America. At an early day the House would have the satisfaction of knowing that, by the annexation of the North-West, they had not only strengthened the position of the British North-American Confederation, but opened up a country to energy and enterprise which would bring incalculable wealth to the Dominion. . . . He was proud to be able to say, after having had an introduction to Mr. Riel in council at Fort Garry, and discussed in the frankest manner possible the whole question with some of his principal advisers, that he believed the negotiations now in progress would end in the peaceful acquisition of the territory, upon terms alike satisfactory to the insurgents, and advantageous to the Dominion. He did not hesitate to admit that his sympathies were largely excited, upon looking at the question from the same point of view as the insurgents, and when he found how grievously they had been misled, and how ill-advised they had been. He had no doubt whatever that when they found that the spirit of the free Canadian Parliament would not permit anything like injustice to govern in any part of the Dominion, they would readily agree to a satisfactory solution of the whole difficulty. . . .

"There was another question on which he held very strong opinions, and to which he called the attention of the House. He would ask whether it was considered advantageous to the best interests of the country that the Dominion of Canada should long remain in its present humiliating attitude with regard to its trade relations with the United States. He had always felt, he should

say at the outset, that the most peaceable and friendly relations should exist between the Dominion and the United States, and with that object in view he had favoured the reciprocal interchange of the natural productions of both countries. . . . It was well known that the treaty which formerly existed between British America and the United States had operated in a most satisfactory manner for both countries. It was well known, however, that the balance of trade was uniformly in favour of the United States, but nevertheless the Congress of that country repealed the treaty. When that occurred he (Dr. Tupper), as the leader of the Government of Nova Scotia, maintained the necessity of our meeting them on their own ground. The Imperial Government desired and the Government of Canada conceded that, instead of meeting the Americans with a retaliatory measure as the best means of obtaining a renewal of the treaty, we should act in a conciliatory spirit. All our efforts, however, to induce them to change their policy had failed, and they still adhere to their restrictive commercial system. Was anyone on the opposite side prepared to continue a policy which had been all on one side, after the experience of the past four years, and the recent statement of the President to Congress, that the Government of the United States were opposed to reciprocal trade, because it was solely in the interests of the British producer? Were those honourable gentlemen prepared to sacrifice the best interests of the country in order to assist the Americans in carrying out what they admitted was not a *commercial* but a *political* policy. While the Provinces had been suffering from the restrictive policy of the Americans—whilst we had surrendered for literally nothing, our magnificent fishing grounds, so valuable when considered in connection with our shipping interests, our commerce, and the training for sailors, we had been allowing our neighbours to send in their products free, or at a nominal duty, and giving them reason to suppose that we could not, or dare not, act in a different spirit towards them. Was that a policy to be supported by any free man in British America? Should we allow the best interests of the country to be sacrificed or uphold a bold national policy which would promote the best interests of all classes and fill our treasury? Whilst Canadian agriculturists had their products shut out by the prohibitory tariff of the Republic, Canada had admitted, free, during the past year six or seven millions of dollars' worth of grain and bread stuffs from that Republic. Take the article of coal, for instance, and it would be well if the House fully considered the importance of that great branch of industry. Whilst the United States policy had been to meet the coal producers of Canada

with a duty which virtually shut out Canadian coal from the American market, we had bought from them nearly a million dollars' worth of coal more than we had sent to the States on which we did not receive a cent of duty. We had, during the past year, admitted six or seven millions of dollars' worth of agricultural products, and nearly ten millions of free goods of other descriptions from the United States, whose people, in return, told us that neither the products of our mines, our forests, our fields, or our seas, should cross their borders without paying tribute. If we could not have free trade, the time had certainly come for having at least a reciprocity of tariffs. Was there an intelligent man in the country who did not know that our declaration of such a policy would give us a reciprocity treaty in a year? Whoever read the discussions of Congress would see that all we had to do was to assume a manly attitude on that great question in order to obtain free trade with the United States. But suppose they resented that retaliatory policy, the result would be hardly less satisfactory than a Reciprocity Treaty. It would increase the trade between the Provinces, stimulate intercourse between the different sections of our people, and promote the prosperity of the whole Dominion. Such a question should be fully considered, for it affected the most important interests of the country, and properly dealt with, would diffuse wealth and prosperity throughout the Dominion."

After this speech, Sir John Macdonald urged Dr. Tupper to enter his Cabinet, which he did, as President of the Council, on the assurance of a large majority of the Nova Scotia members that he would receive their support.

It was self-evident and everywhere admitted that railway connection between the Atlantic and the Pacific was essential to the consolidation of the Provinces and Territories. Canals and other means of helping the trade and intercourse of the Dominion put forward their unquestioned claim; but the Customs policy divided the judgment of both the people and their representatives. Only a few years had passed since the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States had come to an end. The belief prevailed that the welfare of the country depended on its renewal. On this question there was substantial agreement in all parts of the Dominion. But failure had attended every effort to renew the treaty. In

addition to this, the Government and Congress of the Republic believed that the refusal of a renewal of the treaty, and the enforcement of a rigorous protective policy, would so cripple Canada in her infancy that she would soon be found as a suppliant for annexation to her big neighbour. The Boards of Trade at Detroit in 1866 had resolved to advise the President of the United States to renew the treaty with the Canadian Provinces. But this advice was not taken. During all the years between the Confederation of the Dominion and the adoption of the National Policy, there was in and out of Parliament a babel of opinion respecting a sound fiscal policy for Canada. As the source of a river which enriches a country is carefully sought, so the origin of the National Policy will ever be a matter of interest to the Canadian public.

One of the first matters to catch the business eye of Dr. Tupper after his admission to the Cabinet was the Intercolonial Railway, in which he had, from the first, been deeply interested. There was a dispute between Mr. Brydges, the Chairman of the Commissioners under whom the road was being constructed, and Mr. Fleming, the chief engineer. The judgment of the latter was that the bridges should be constructed of iron, but the Chairman of the Commissioners was in favour of wooden bridges. Tenders for wooden bridges had been asked for and accepted. Dr. Tupper took strong ground against the judgment of Mr. Brydges, and induced the Council to instruct Mr. Fleming to ascertain what the difference in cost would be between the two materials. The result of this was that iron bridges were substituted for wooden ones.

In an earlier chapter dealing with Dr. Tupper's mission to England in 1868 to defeat the delegates from the Nova Scotia Legislature in their efforts to secure the repeal of the British North America Act as far as Nova Scotia was concerned, are found the persistent, heroic and successful efforts made by Dr. Tupper, and the formidable obstacles

he met with in securing the sanction of the British Government to an increase of the licence fee, from fifty cents to two dollars a ton, on American fishing vessels. In 1870 is seen also the firm stand he took in the House of Commons in maintaining the rights of Canada to her inshore fisheries. On March 9 of that year the Hon. Mr. Coffin, of Shelburne, N.S., complained of the depredations committed by American fishermen in Canadian waters, as did also Mr. Robitaille. Sir John A. Macdonald replied that he

"was happy to believe that H.M. Fleet in our waters would not be diminished, but perhaps increased. As already announced, it was the intention of the Government to issue no more licences to foreign fishermen. They were taking every step possible to protect our fisheries. They would have such a force as the Imperial authorities chose to place in our waters to back up our own schooners, which would unite as a marine police."

Dr. Tupper stated that he

"wished to enter his protest against the statement made by the hon. member of the House which would damage the rights of our fishermen, by saying that we were not ready and able to protect them. He believed the policy which the Government had announced on this subject would meet with the entire approval of the country, and would put an end to the difficulties so loudly complained of. If the licence system had not been commenced there would have been no difficulty, and a stoppage of that system would stop all the trouble. He was not so advanced in his views as to propose the establishment of an independent nation, but he was sufficiently advanced to believe that the country was able to protect its own fishermen and fisheries."

At this date it is seen that Dr. Tupper's views, firmly expressed in corresponding with the Canadian Government in 1867 on the proposal to grant licences to American fishermen, were both expedient and sound. As long as licences remained at a nominal figure, all went well; but no sooner were they raised to $2.00 a ton than the fishermen ignored them and trespassed in a wholesale fashion on the Canadian fishing grounds. This led to the discussion and settlement

of the matter for a term of years in connection with the Washington Treaty.

The session of 1871 opened in February. Sir John A. Macdonald had been appointed by the Imperial Government a member of the Joint High Commission with regard to the Fisheries Question about to assemble at Washington. Sir A. T. Galt moved a resolution in the House of Commons intended for the guidance of Sir John Macdonald, but Dr. Tupper made a strong appeal to him to withdraw his resolution, which was done.

Sir John's first letter from Washington to Dr. Tupper, as President of the Council, suggests the intimate personal relations existing between these two statesmen. Sir John said:

"When the House met yesterday, I was introduced to Ben Butler. He talked very pleasantly, and told me some very amusing anecdotes apropos of the Parliamentary practice in the House. Among other things, he told us that Saturday is given up to members who desire to make bunkum speeches for their constituents. The Speaker usually makes it a holiday, and appoints somebody else to take his place. Frequently the speakers have an audience of from six to twenty, and sometimes, by agreement, the speeches are handed in without being read, and appear in the *Congressional Globe*—the American Hansard. This plan, he says, has had its inconveniences. On one occasion, a speech turned out to be a violent attack on Sumner. It appears, too, that they have professional penny-a-liners, who write speeches for illiterate members. One of these gentry sold the same speech to two members. It was handed in by both, and appeared twice in the same *Globe*. I think this is enough gossip for one letter."

On the same day Sir John sent another letter to Dr. Tupper, from which the following is taken:

"Since writing my account of our doings here, I have seen Lord de Grey. He has had an unofficial conversation with leading statesmen here, and thought it of sufficient importance to come down here after church and mention it to me. I now send it on to you, but cannot mention the name of the statesman, as I have little confidence in the Post Office here.

"This man said that there would doubtless be a good deal of gas

talk about the fisheries; that without any question as to the right, the United States must have the inshore fisheries, but were ready to pay for them. Lord de Grey said that he had no instructions on the matter, but would, of course, submit any proposition for the consideration of his Government. He asked if the United States were ready for a renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty on the same terms as before. The man replied that he did not think that Congress could be brought to sanction anything of the kind just now, but what he alluded to was a pecuniary equivalent. Then the conversation ended. I told Lord de Grey we had not even taken into consideration any other equivalent, but that of an enlarged commercial intercourse in the direction of reciprocity, and as nearly approaching the old Reciprocity Treaty as the exigencies of the United States revenue would permit. That I did not know how a money payment would be received, but my impression was that it would be out of the question for Canada to surrender, for all time to come, her fishery rights for any compensation, however great; that we had no right to injure posterity by depriving Canada, either as a dependency or as a nation, of her fisheries, and in my opinion any surrender must be for a term of years renewable by either party, or, what would be preferable, for an unspecified period, but liable to be terminated by either party. But the fisheries were valuable in themselves, and would, with increasing population, become annually of more value; but the value of the catch was of less consequence than the means which the exclusive enjoyment of the fisheries gave us of improving our position as a maritime power. That Canada possessed infinitely more valuable fisheries than the United States, with better harbours, and if we pursued the exclusive system vigorously, we might run a winning race with the United States as a maritime power. That were our fishing grounds used in common by our own and American fishermen, the latter would enjoy the same training as ourselves, etc. etc.

"I said, however, that I would write in general terms to Ottawa and get the views of my colleagues on this branch of the question, that is supposing the Canadian rights admitted to the fullest extent, and reciprocity to the full extent refused, what other equivalent would be of sufficient inducement to Canada to restore the liberty of fishing in our inshore waters.

"Let me ask you to submit this letter in the strictest confidence to the Council, and let me have some general expression of opinion for my guidance, should the question be put to the British Commissioners."

To the two letters from Sir John, Dr. Tupper replied on March 12, giving Sir John the report of "The Committee of Council," to whom had been referred a confidential dispatch from Lord Kimberley. Dr. Tupper wrote:

The Committee learn with deep concern that Her Majesty's Government favour the policy of surrendering in perpetuity, the exclusive rights of fishing now enjoyed by Her Majesty's subjects on the coasts of British North America to the United States for a money consideration, and accompanying that expression of their opinion by an intimation that the question of the Headland limits is to be made the subject of compromise; and that the demand of the United States for the admission of their fishing vessels to Canadian ports for the purpose of trade and purchase of fishing supplies and the transhipment of fish, is to be complied with.

The Committee of Council are not insensible of the great importance of removing all possible causes of difference between Great Britain and the United States; but they would fail in their duty to the Crown, and forget what they owed to the people of Canada, if they did not at the outset enter their respectful but firm protest against any surrender of the territorial rights of Canada without the concurrence of the Parliament of the Dominion.

The Committee regard the exclusive right to the inshore fisheries as fraught with incalculable advantage to Canada, and of the most vital importance to Great Britain. Their vast importance as a source of profitable industry and wealth to a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects sinks into insignificance when regarded as a means of fostering a great maritime power, and the Committee of Council respectfully submit that it is not unworthy of the consideration of the Imperial Government whether it would be wise to furnish the United States with the only means of becoming a great naval power, and, at the same time, paralyse the energies of tens of thousands of Her Majesty's hardy fishermen, the tax on whose industry in the markets of the United States is not in some measure compensated by the exclusive rights they enjoy on their own fishing grounds.

The following letter accompanied the foregoing Minute of Council, and not only explains it but throws light upon the complications which began to gather around the subject of the Fisheries as they were considered by the Joint High Commission at Washington:

Dr. Tupper as President of the Council

OTTAWA,
March 12, 1871

MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—We were all very glad to receive your interesting letters, which I will carefully preserve and return to you as you propose. We quite concur in the line you have taken and have sent the message and despatch, a copy of which will go to you to-morrow.

I am afraid you will think the Minute very feeble, but it was the best I could get. I proposed one, expressing the deep concern with which we had learned that the Imperial Government favoured the policy of selling the Fisheries in perpetuity, and intimated the opinion that the Headland limit should be "compromised," and the demand of the United States for the admission of their fishing vessels to our ports for purposes of trade, be complied with. My Minute took resolute ground against the sale—adverted to the fact that the United States had not for five years past acted on the proposal to submit the true interpretation of the Treaty on the Headland question to adjudication and had in 1871, for the first time, ventured to ask for the admission to our ports for purposes of trade. I also called attention to the fact that the range of the Commission had been enlarged, and our relative strength on it weakened without consultation with us. I think I will send you a copy of my draft for your opinion. I think I know enough of the British Government to come to the conclusion that when they venture to spring upon us with such a proposition, it is best to speak out or say nothing. I own I am intensely disgusted to find that in the face of the menace of the President, the British Government should propose to alienate for ever our fisheries for money, and accompany their proposal with the announcement that they intend to compromise our important right and abandon us in our claims. It is also perfectly evident that a bold front would give us all we desired. If we are sacrificed we almost deserve it for not sending you as I wished to England the moment that message made its appearance, instead of leaving Rose, weakly or worse, to do us irreparable mischief. The last despatch is written entirely in the light of that miserable statement sent by him to the Foreign Office. . . .

I hope most sincerely that you will get a reciprocity treaty for us and a peerage for yourself. Then I will be satisfied, and will not break my heart even if Mackenzie should get his innings. All your colleagues sympathise with you in your arduous work, and are most anxious to serve you in any way in their power. I hope Col. Bernard had no need to use the prescription I sent him. Tell me, when you

write, how you are in health, and with best wishes for your health and success.—Believe me to be, Yours most faithfully,

(Signed) CHARLES TUPPER.

HON. SIR J. A. MACDONALD, K.C.B.

The following private telegrams from Dr. Tupper to Sir John at this date indicate the bold policy advocated by the former :

Neither Government nor people of Canada will ever consent to concede fishing privilege for even term of years for money consideration, and such a sale, even though period limited, would be regarded by the Canadian people as equivalent to parting with a portion of the territory of the Dominion.

Yourself alone. Message herewith that you suggested. But how much money could we get in addition say to coasting trade, free fish, coal, lumber, and salt ?

In the light of all the negotiations between Canada and Great Britain since that day, who would venture to assert that the bolder course indicated in Dr. Tupper's letter to Sir John would not have been the better one and equally as safe as the modified policy which was adopted ?

Lord Kimberley's reply to the Minute of Council of the Dominion Government, which was to the effect that the English Government never had had any intention of selling the fishery rights of Canada without the consent of the Dominion Parliament, reached Sir John at Washington in time for him to write to Dr. Tupper on the 17th as follows :

" It was a most fortunate thought to send a cablegram to Lord Kimberley, as, in my expression of disinclination to enter upon the question of sale or lease of the fisheries, communication was had with Lord Granville (Secretary for Foreign Affairs), who authorised the Commission to discuss the question of sale, at the same time expressing a preference for sale in perpetuity. Upon this, I produced Lord Kimberley's answer, which was a floorer. Lord de Grey is now, doubtless, communicating with Lord Granville, as to the apparent discrepancy between his statement and that of Lord Kimberley."

It will be seen from the following private telegram to Sir John on March 22, that Dr. Tupper, on the assumption

that the Treaty would last eleven years, fixed the amount of a money consideration at the same figure as the award made at Halifax in 1877 by the joint arbitrators :

For yourself alone. Council might entertain second proposition for term of years with half a million dollars a year. Would deduct $100,000 if animals are admitted free.

By May 21 Lord de Grey had received his reply from Lord Granville which enabled Sir John to inform Dr. Tupper of the satisfactory outcome of the protest from the Government at Ottawa.

At this point the proposals and counter-proposals in the negotiations became mixed with the suggestion of free fishing on the lakes and in the St. Lawrence, the free navigation of that river, Canadian canals, Lakes Champlain and Michigan, the use of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal and the canal at the St. Clair Flats. These matters were discussed principally between Sir John A. Macdonald and Mr. Fish.

In view of the position taken by Sir John A. Macdonald at the refusal of the United States Commissioners to accept the offers that had been made them, at this stage it seemed as if the whole matter would fall through.

Sir John's letter to Dr. Tupper, written on April 5, makes it plain that the British Government supported Sir John in his objection to the conditions of the Treaty. Sir John says :

"My telegram of this morning will have informed you that Home Government has backed me in a satisfactory manner, and given me rather a victory over my colleagues. We telegraphed the provisional arrangement made to England, and stated that I did not concur, on the ground of the inadequacy of the compensation, though the rest thought it was a fair arrangement. They replied, asking for my reasons and the views of others. We sent home a copy of the memorandum which I sent you, and my colleagues added that they thought the arrangement a good one, considering the political necessity of allaying all causes of irritation between Canada and the United States, and they were the best terms that could be got. A return cable came to us—a good deal, I think, to the annoyance of Lord de Grey—stating that, ' the Government thought Sir John Macdonald's

propositions were quite reasonable, and that there should be a substantial money payment and an immediate repeal of the duty on lumber.' It was added, however, that 'we should not be too strict as to the date of the repeal of the lumber duty.'"

An acute stage in the deliberations had been reached. On April 16, Sir John wrote again:

"Since I last wrote you, fishery matters have not been going on satisfactorily, as my telegrams will have informed you. Lord de Grey had a meeting with Mr. Fish, and told him that his Government thought the terms offered not an adequate compensation, and that he (Mr. Fish) must increase his bid. In other words, he must supplement the proposition by a money payment.

"At the time of this conversation I had not received your telegram stating that you would take $150,000 per annum, and $50,000 additional until lumber was free."

This proposition from the Dominion Cabinet, through Dr. Tupper, for the twelve years would have amounted to $1,000,000. But the arbitrators awarded $5,500,000, giving Canada $3,600,000 more by arbitration than she offered to take while the negotiations were going on.

"When the British Commissioners met, I gave Lord de Grey a copy of your telegram. He said you could not be serious in asking so much. We certainly would not get it, and he was rather glad he had not had the message at the time of the interview (with Mr. Fish), as he felt he would not have been able to press so large a sum. We had a rather warm discussion on the subject, in which, as usual, I stood alone.[1]

"Lord de Grey, at this or a previous meeting, mentioned the Fenian claims, and the American Commissioners objected on the

[1] An inordinate desire for reciprocity broke out in the Canadian Parliament during the time the Washington Treaty was in progress. Members of the House of Commons sustaining the Government united with the Opposition and passed a measure admitting American coal and salt free into Canada. Dr. Tupper, who at the time was in possession of all the facts of the negotiations at Washington, but who was compelled to secrecy respecting them, urged the House in the circumstances not to press the Bill to a vote. He saw that it would interfere, as it did, with securing the best terms for the Fishery Treaty. The coal and salt monopolists in the United States, seeing that they would have the Canadian market free, influenced Mr. Fish to take these two articles from the free list of Canadian imports offered to the Commission, thus giving the monopolists the market of both Canada and the United States.

ground which I feared they would take, viz. that the correspondence only speaks of the mutual claims of British subjects and American citizens, and that the Fenian claims would be claims by the Governments of England and Canada. Lord de Grey strongly resisted this, and it stands over for further consideration. His Lordship is of opinion, however, in which I must say I concur, that it will be difficult to bring in the Government claims under the language of the correspondence."

As a matter of fact, the British Commissioners did not succeed in getting the Fenian claims before the Commission; and so desirous was the British Government that the matter should not be pressed, that the large amount of damages caused by the invasion of Canada by these marauders was assumed by the English Government, and Mr. Gladstone stated the fact in the House of Commons.

It is seen, however, by the subjoined telegram from Dr. Tupper to Sir John on March 25 that the English Cabinet believed the Fenian raid was before the Joint High Commission. Sir Edward Thornton, the Ambassador, was responsible for its non-appearance in the instructions to the American Commissioners:

Despatch received from England saying that our Minute respecting Fenian claim has been referred to High Commission. Council hope that you will press them. It might help Fishery negotiations.

On the part of the Canadian Government there was a sympathetic disinclination to take money from the British Exchequer, raised largely from the taxpayers of that country, to reimburse Canada for the losses she had suffered by the Fenian incursions. This is an example of the persistent disregard of just demands made upon the United States Government, and it stands out now as a remarkable event that in the negotiations between the two countries for the settlement of the claims made by each, that this particular claim, in character the same as that of the *Alabama* claim from the United States, should have been side-tracked and the responsibility of it assumed by England. It is just the same

as if the United States Government, anxious to sustain peaceable relations with Great Britain, should have withdrawn her claims for the depredations of the *Alabama* and agreed to pay her citizens who had suffered loss out of her own treasury. There is some consolation in the fact that the Canadian Government received compensation from England which did not cost the taxpayers of that country a penny.

In President Grant's message to Congress, the proposal was made for the United States to assume the payment of all damages caused by the *Alabama* and other vessels, and that the amount so paid should be held as a money claim on England to be enforced when conditions made enforcement available. It was this part of the President's message which disturbed the British Cabinet; but Sir John, who understood the matter, knew that it had really been written by General Butler, and was a characteristic piece of bluff.

At a subsequent meeting, Mr. Fish, after reviewing the matter, said :

"The United States Government were now prepared to revert to the proposal of a purely money consideration, and as it appeared there was an irreconcilable difference of opinion between the two Governments as to the value of the fisheries, he proposed that it should be left to an impartial arbitration, one arbitrator to be chosen by each Government, and the third selected by the Minister of some friendly power."

Mr. Fish stated that he wished the compensation thus proposed should be for the fisheries for all time. Lord de Grey said that he could hold out no hope that England would entertain such a proposition. It must be for a term of years, and he suggested ten years. Mr. Fish suggested twenty-five. Lord de Grey here stated that whatever arrangements were made, free fish must be included.

On April 29, Sir John wrote again to Dr. Tupper :

"The rights of Canada being substantially preserved by reserving to her the veto power as to the fisheries, I am sincerely desirous that

a treaty should be made, as it is of the greatest importance that the *Alabama* and San Juan matters should be settled, especially the former. The expectations of the American people of a settlement of these matters having been strung to a very high pitch, and the disappointment in case the negotiations end in nothing, will be very great. If this attempt to settle the *Alabama* question should fail, no peaceable solution of it is possible, and the war cloud will hang over England and Canada.

"In all this I am satisfied that Lord de Grey is quite sincere, and, of course, I appreciate the weight of the argument, as well as the consideration that Canada would be a greater sufferer in case of hostile action than England possibly could be. With a treaty, therefore, once made, Canada has the game in her own hands. All fear of war will have been averted, and between now and next February, when Parliament meets, our Government will have plenty of time to consider the whole question."

Her Britannic Majesty agreed, through her Commissioners, that all the claims growing out of the acts committed by the *Alabama* and other vessels, and generally known as the "*Alabama* claims," "shall be referred to a tribunal of arbitration, to be composed of five arbitrators —one to be named by the President of the United States, one by the Queen of England, one by the King of Italy, one by the President of the Swiss Confederation, and one by the Emperor of Brazil."

The Joint High Commission at Washington left the matter of recognising the indirect claims of the United States against England for the *Alabama* depredations to be settled by the two Governments. Immediately after the work of the Commission was closed at Washington, this difference came up between the United States Government and the English Cabinet in making preparations necessary for the settlement of the *Alabama* claims at Geneva.

The two Governments were not able to come to an agreement. The United States persisted in pressing their indirect claims. The English Government stoutly refused

this demand. No conclusion was reached before the meeting of the arbitrators at Geneva.

At this crisis, Charles Francis Adams, the United States Agent, proposed at Geneva that, as a principle, arbitrators should not take cognisance of indirect claims. The stand taken by Mr. Adams solved the difficulty, and the arbitrators fixed $15,500,000 as due to the United States from England, which sum was promptly paid.

The result of the negotiations at Washington was that the United States Government would admit fish and fish-oil free, and, as has been stated, leave the money compensation to a Commission of three—one appointed by England, one by the United States, and if they could not agree upon a third, the appointment should be left to a friendly power.

The terms agreed upon at Washington respecting the Canadian fisheries were very unpopular in Canada. The Opposition used this unpopularity in their efforts to defeat the Government. About a year elapsed between the conclusion of the Treaty and the meeting of the Dominion Parliament. Although the terms of the Treaty, as time passed, were seen in a more favourable light, still, when Parliament assembled in 1872, all the strength of the Opposition was directed towards adversely criticising the Treaty. Dr. Tupper, in view of his long experience and minute and comprehensive knowledge of the question, was able to encourage Sir John A. Macdonald in believing that his work at Washington was wiser and sounder than he himself judged it to be. Nevertheless, Sir John's defence of the Treaty in the House of Commons in a four hours' speech was largely apologetic, admitting that sacrifices had been made in the interests of England, but that England had made great sacrifices for Canada.

Dr. Tupper made a strong speech in support of the Treaty, of which a report may be found in the Canadian "Hansard" for 1872.

CHAPTER XIV

DEFEAT OF THE CONSERVATIVES (1872—74)

IN the absence of Sir John at Washington, the leadership devolved upon Sir George E. Cartier. The principal measure of the session was the Bill ratifying the terms arranged for bringing British Columbia into the Confederation. It had been stipulated that British Columbia should be connected by rail with the east within ten years. In the discussion for sanctioning the terms of the admission of this new province into the Confederation, the Opposition took strong ground against this section of the agreement. The talent on both sides of the House was employed in an animated and vigorous debate.

After the ratification of the Washington Treaty, the only other important business of 1872 was asking the authority of the House to give a Royal Charter for a company to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. The essential part of this charter was the Government's offer to give fifty million acres of land in alternate blocks and $30,000,000 to the company.

In July, 1872, the House was dissolved, and a general election took place. Dr. Tupper was opposed by the late Judge Morse, whom he defeated by a majority of 1,260. Judge Morse was ever after one of his warmest friends. Not one member was returned from Nova Scotia in opposition to the Government. Mr. Church, of Lunenburg, declared himself an Independent. Five years before this, Dr. Tupper was the only member returned from Nova Scotia in support of the Government. His present success called forth many congratulatory expressions, among

them a letter from Sir Hastings Doyle, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia:

HALIFAX,
August 18, 1872.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—It would seem an absurdity to congratulate you upon your return to Parliament, because there never was a doubt upon the subject, but I do, with great sincerity congratulate you upon your glorious majority, and I must think it has served your own cause, and that of the Government, far better that, *under the circumstances*, you should have been opposed than returned by acclamation, because it has brought persons to the front to give the lie to the vile aspersions that have been brought upon your private and public character by the villainous press of this city. . . .

Pray tell me confidentially whether Sir John A. is likely to have a good working majority, for I am deeply interested in his and your success.

Are you coming this way? I hope so, and that you will do so soon, as I think of going on leave early next month.—Yours sincerely,

HASTINGS DOYLE.

After the election in Nova Scotia, at the urgent request of Sir John A. Macdonald, Dr. Tupper went to meet Mr. Alexander Mackenzie at a great mass meeting at Strathroy, where he spoke in favour of A. P. Macdonald, who was returned.

Dr. Tupper spoke also in Cardwell on nomination day, where he succeeded in getting rival candidates to give way to John Hilliard Cameron, an eminent lawyer who had just been defeated at Peel, and who was elected. After addressing meetings in East Middlesex, Mr. David Glass, a Conservative, was elected.

On July 1, Dr. Tupper resigned the Presidency of the Council, and was appointed Minister of Inland Revenue.

At this point in Dr. Tupper's career, Sir John A. Macdonald gave him a letter from Lord Lisgar, from which the following extracts are taken and in which is found evidence that Dr. Tupper's talents and labours were appreciated by the Governor-General:

Defeat of the Conservatives

July 16, 1872.

My dear Sir John,—. . . I made the following recommendations as to the order of St. Michael and St. George: Sir F. Hincks to be promoted to be a G.C.M.G. For K.C.M.G.'s: Cartier, Campbell, Tupper, Tilley, Draper, Chief Justice. For C.M.G.'s: Archibald and Bernard Hincks. Cartier, Archibald and Bernard will be accepted, I think, at once, or after the general election. Campbell, Tupper and Tilley in a short time hereafter. Lord L. will write to Lord Dufferin about these matters by this post.

(Signed) Lisgar.

Dr. Tupper informed Sir John that he had no wish to receive a knighthood unless it was conferred upon Mr. Howe also.

The international railway between Portland, Maine, and St. John, New Brunswick, was opened in October. Mr. Tilley and Dr. Tupper accompanied Lord Lisgar and met President Grant, the Hon. Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, and the Hon. Mr. Robinson, Secretary of the Navy at Portland. The principal speeches of this celebration were made at Bangor by the four persons named above. Lord Lisgar prefaced his speech by saying: "I deeply regret that I shall not be able to imitate the admirable brevity of your President." For a week Dr. Tupper was intimately associated with President Grant, and admired his skill in uttering his opinions in condensed observations.

Dr. Tupper had returned to Ottawa in 1870, and in the autumn of 1871, having leased "Armdale" at the North-West Arm, Halifax, went with Mrs. Tupper and his granddaughter, Sophie Cameron, who was very ill at the time, to St. Andrews, New Brunswick, where he had purchased the "Highland Hill" farm for $6,000.00 as a summer residence. When he became a member of the Government in 1870, there was no railway to Halifax, and it was a laborious journey, while he could go from Montreal to St. Andrews in twelve hours. This made a summer residence at St. Andrews practicable for his family.

In September, 1872, the Government sent two hundred militia to Fort Garry to oppose the Fenians who threatened to invade Manitoba from the United States. Before the arrival of the militia, the Lieutenant-Governor, A. G. Archibald, at a critical time was offered assistance by Louis Riel, who professed his readiness to aid in repelling the Fenians. This proffered aid was accepted, and the Governor shook hands with Mr. Riel. The Government had already suffered because of its alleged too lenient treatment of Riel. It was known that when the House should meet, the Government would be attacked for the course taken by the Lieutenant-Governor. At the request of Sir John Macdonald, Dr. Tupper wrote to Mr. Archibald advising him to resign, which he did.

The record for 1872 may fitly conclude with the following letter:

HALIFAX,
December 28, 1872.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—It is about time . . . that I should thank you very sincerely for all the most kind, and too flattering expressions . . . as regards the success of my administration of affairs in these Lower Provinces; it is especially gratifying to me that *you* should feel satisfied with the manner in which I have conducted the affairs of my Government, *because* I know *you* had more to do with my appointment of Lt.-Governor than *anyone else*, and were, therefore, more or less answerable for my performances, and you would have been proportionately annoyed if I had unfortunately made any mistakes, and having now only about four months to remain here, I think I may feel pretty certain that no dire misfortune is likely to occur to prevent my feeling that I have fulfilled my destiny, having (notwithstanding the threats that were held out at the commencement of my "reign") lived to see Anti-Confederation a dead issue, and more than the policy inaugurated by you and your brother Confederates triumphantly sustained in this Province! I have ascertained that the Legislature here will meet about the last week in February, and assuming that the session will last about the same time I shall have no difficulty in being ready to embark for England in the steamer of May 6. I intend to write officially to Lord Dufferin, and Sir John A. to request permission to do so, and will also arrange with the

Horse Guards authorities that I may be relieved of my command about the same time. I shall then have passed twelve winters here! and it will close my military career, for, being at the head of my profession, and Colonel of a regiment, I have nothing more to look to, or expect! but I shall look back with pride to my sojourn in these parts, bearing in mind that arriving here for the *Trent* affairs I have passed through many stirring events, although the last few years of my command have been quiet enough. I shall not forget either, how much you and I have officially been thrown together, and how much I have been indebted to you for advice and assistance of all kinds. . . .

I quite agree with you in feeling certain that both Lord and Lady Dufferin will be *most popular* throughout the Dominion. They show such high breeding, and have such charming manners, it is impossible not to be fond of them.

Pray give my kindest regards to Mrs. Tupper and the fair Emma if she is with you. I hope you have passed a Merry Christmas, and trust there are many happy New Years in store for you and yours.—Believe me to be, Yours very sincerely,

HASTINGS DOYLE.

The first meeting of the House after the election of 1872 took place on March 5, 1873. On April 2 the Hon. Mr. Huntington moved the appointment of a committee to investigate a charge against the Government for having received a large sum of money from Sir Hugh Allan for the election in return for a charter for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that the money had been received for this purpose from American capitalists. Mr. Huntington's charge was as follows:

". . . That, in anticipation of the legislation of last session, an agreement was made between Sir Hugh Allan, acting for himself, and certain other Canadian promoters, and G. W. McMullen, acting for certain United States capitalists, whereby the latter agreed to furnish all the funds necessary for the construction of the contemplated railway, and to give the former a certain per cent. of interest, in consideration of their interest and position, the scheme agreed on being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head;

"That the Government were aware that negotiations were pending between these parties;

"That subsequently an understanding was come to between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan and Mr. Abbott, M.P.—that Sir Hugh Allan and his friends should advance a large sum of money for the purpose of aiding the elections of the Ministers and their supporters at the ensuing general election, and that he and his friends should receive the contract for the construction of the railway;

"That accordingly Sir Hugh Allan did advance a large sum of money for the purpose mentioned, and at the solicitation, and under the pressing insistences of Ministers;

"That part of the moneys expended by Sir Hugh Allan in connection with the obtaining of the Act of incorporation and charter was paid by him to the said United States capitalists under the agreement with him. It is

"Ordered, that a committee of seven members be appointed to enquire into all the circumstances connected with the negotiations for the construction of the Pacific Railway, with the legislation of last session on the subject, and with the granting of the charter to Sir Hugh Allan and others; with power to send for persons, papers and records; and with instructions to report in full the evidence taken before, and all proceedings of, said Committee."

Sir John A. Macdonald called for a vote which, when taken, defended him by 107 yeas to 76 nays.

On April 8, Sir John moved for a select committee to be appointed by the House, of which the mover was not to be one, to report on the several matters contained in Mr. Huntington's resolution, with power to send for persons and papers and report to the House. The committee appointed consisted of the Hon. J. G. Blanchet, the Hon. Edward Blake, the Hon. A. A. Dorion, the Hon. J. Cameron and the Hon. James Macdonald. The committee reported, asking authority to examine witnesses on oath. This was granted them, and they were authorised to hold meetings during the adjournment of the House whenever it was convenient.

A Bill was passed authorising the examination of witnesses under oath. A majority of the select committee reported to the House that their work could not be properly carried on in the absence in England of Sir George E.

Cartier and Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, two members of the House; and recommended that the committee should adjourn until July 2. This was, on motion, carried by a majority of thirty-one.

Doubt having been expressed respecting the authority of Parliament to pass an Act to enable the committee to administer the oath to witnesses, the assent to the Bill for that purpose was reserved by the Governor-General, who promptly sent it to the Imperial Government for instructions respecting the constitutionality of the action of Parliament in the matter.

During this session an Act was passed preventing dual representation, similar to the Act passed by Dr. Tupper in the Nova Scotia Legislature before the Confederation Act came into operation. On April 8, Dr. Tupper, who had resigned the office of Minister of Inland Revenue and had been appointed Minister of Customs, on February 3 moved a resolution which was seconded by Mr. Tilley:

"That this House do immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider certain proposed resolutions relative to Customs duties in the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, including Rupert's Land."

He introduced also, when Minister of Inland Revenue, the following resolution, which became law and remains until the present day:

"That it is expedient to amend and consolidate the laws of the Dominion respecting weights and measures, and to establish a uniform system thereof for all Canada, except only as to special measures used for certain purposes in the Province of Quebec; and to provide for the inspection of weights and measures with power to the Governor in Council to make a tariff of fees for such inspection, sufficient to defray the expenses of carrying it into effect."

Before the benefits of this enactment were made evident in its operation it was exceedingly unpopular, but time has proved its great usefulness.

An Act was passed admitting Prince Edward Island

into the Dominion upon terms arranged between the Federal Government and that of the Island.

The Imperial Government disallowed the Act for the taking of testimony under oath by a committee of the House.

The Government then proposed to appoint the committee chosen by the House under a Royal Commission, but Messrs. Blake and Dorion refused to act.

A Royal Commission was then appointed consisting of three judges, Messrs. Day, Politte and Gervain.

Parliament, in adjourning to August 13, when it was to meet for the purpose of receiving the report of the Commission on the Huntington Charges, it being understood that the meeting in August would be solely for the reception of the report of the Commission so that the said report might be placed before Parliament and the country, was prorogued until October 23.

But the leaders of the Opposition took an unwarrantable and dishonourable advantage of the specified provision, and secretly and through the Press urged their followers to be present when the meeting in August took place. The result was that the Opposition members from Ontario and Quebec attended this meeting, but there were over sixty supporters of the Government absent in distant parts of the Dominion. It was the purpose of the Opposition to proceed with the inquiry into the Huntington Charges by dealing with the report of the Royal Commission. The obvious purpose was to defeat the Government on a vote of want of confidence.

It is difficult at this distant day to see this scheme of the Opposition in any light other than one of breach of faith with Parliament. Had such a device been attempted by the Government, Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake, in pouring upon the Government their torrents of invective eloquence and moral reprobation, would have carried the country with them. But such is the blinding effect of hot partisanship, that on the assembling of the

House of Commons in August, Mr. Mackenzie was found to be the leader of this political trick. The scene which took place in Parliament at that time has been thus described:

"The Usher of the Black Rod, whose duty it is, with many bows and genuflections, to summon the faithful Commons to the Senate Chamber on such occasions, was directed to stand at the main entrance of the Commons, so that the moment the Speaker took the chair he could deliver his message before a motion from any member of the House could be put in the Speaker's hands. Mr. Mackenzie, who had prepared a motion which embodied the views of the Opposition, was on his feet before the Speaker had scarcely ascended to his place, and began to address the House amid shouts and jeers from the Government benches. The Usher of the Black Rod, apparently greatly alarmed at the stormy scene on which he had intruded himself, stammered out his usual orders: 'I am commanded by His Excellency the Governor-General to acquaint this honourable House that it is the pleasure of His Excellency that the members thereof do forthwith attend him in the Senate Chamber.' This summons the Speaker obeyed with the utmost alacrity, and left the chair while Mr. Mackenzie was vainly endeavouring to vindicate the honour of Parliament."

The Governor-General, in his speech opening Parliament on October 23, 1873, announced that the report of the Royal Commission which had been laid before the House at the *pro forma* meeting in August would be submitted to Parliament for consideration and action. That the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, to whom a Royal Charter was granted, had been unable to make the financial arrangements, and had executed a surrender of the Charter.

All the correspondence on the subject of the Huntington Charges, with the Report of the Royal Commission, was laid upon the table.

Mr. Mackenzie moved an amendment to the proposed answer to the address:

"And we have to acquaint His Excellency that by their course in reference to the investigation of the charges preferred by Mr.

Huntington in his place in this House, and under the facts disclosed in the evidence laid before us, His Excellency's advisers have merited the severe censure of this House."

Dr. Tupper, at the request of Sir J. A. Macdonald, replied to Mr. Mackenzie's speech.

During the heat of the conflict on the Huntington Charges, an incident occurred which illustrates the calmness, the foresight, courage and fidelity to principle of Dr. Tupper. Of this event, Sir Charles Tupper wrote:

"During the progress of the debate on the Huntington Charges, which lasted many days, Sir J. A. Macdonald told me that Lord Dufferin had requested him to resign, and that he had called a meeting of the Council for the next morning for the purpose of tendering our resignations. I called upon Lord Dufferin, who said: 'I suppose, Doctor, Sir John has told you what I have said to him?' and was answered in the affirmative. Lord Dufferin said: 'Well, what do you think about it?' I said: 'I think your lordship has made the mistake of your life. To-day you enjoy the confidence of all parties as the Representative of the Queen. To-morrow you will be denounced as the head of a party by the Conservative Press all over Canada for having intervened during a discussion in Parliament and thrown your weight against your Government. Nor will you be able to point to any precedent for such action under British Parliamentary practice.'

"Lord Dufferin said: 'What would you advise?' I replied: 'That you should at once cable the position to the Colonial Office and ask advice.' That was done. Lord Dufferin sent for Sir John Macdonald at two o'clock that night, and withdrew his demand for the resignation of the Government."

It having, however, become apparent that the Government could not retain the support of a sufficient number to warrant their continuing in power, Sir John Macdonald

tendered his resignation. On November 7, Parliament was prorogued by the Governor-General. Mr. Mackenzie formed a Government in which several supporters of Sir John A. Macdonald's Government were rewarded for withdrawing their support by seats in the new administration. This matter is referred to in the following extract from Sir Charles's journal:

"When all the facts connected with the Canadian Pacific Railway charge were fully known, Cauchon, Burpee, Smith, Laird, Coffin and Ross, who had been elected as supporters of the Government and still supported it, were purchased by positions in the Cabinet, and thus joined a party who had denounced coalition governments—the most monstrous corruption that has ever taken place under responsible government."

Mr. Mackenzie obtained a dissolution. The House was dissolved on January 2, 1874, and writs were made returnable on February 27, except in Manitoba and British Columbia. The elections were not held until after March 12. The new Government obtained a majority of 97.

In Sir Charles's journal is the following record:

"In 1873 I had the great pleasure in securing for Mr. Howe the governorship of Nova Scotia, following Sir Hastings Doyle. Mr. Howe invited all the Nova Scotia members to luncheon at his house before leaving Ottawa. His last words to them were: 'Boys, I wish you all to stand by Tupper as he has stood by me.' He went to Halifax, was sworn into office, and returning to Government House, threw off his overcoat and turning to his son, who was his private secretary, said: '*Now* I am ready to go whenever I am sent for.' Three weeks later, June 1, 1873, his brief term came to an end. A long, sad procession passed by his silent form as it lay in state in Government House."

Dr. Tupper was not unmindful of the drear and trying ordeal through which his distinguished colleague had been

passing. To a man of great endowments and greater ambition, to increase is the joy of leadership in fighting battles, whether lost or won. To awaken and guide public sentiment, to live as the idol of a large, popular following, had been the lot and joy of Joseph Howe. But this fortune was at last reversed. Owing to the circumstances of his political career and his failing strength, he exchanged his position as leader for that of an unimportant member of the Dominion Cabinet. He had enjoyed exceptional advantages for accumulating exhaustive knowledge of the Fishery Question, especially in his office as Imperial Fishery Commissioner from 1863 to 1867. But he does not appear in the negotiations at Washington. He saw that "more people worship the rising than the setting sun." Dr. Tupper was steadily ascending, and he was steadily descending. His attack on the British Government when the Washington Treaty was first made public, Dr. Tupper knew, grew out of the conflict between his undiminished ambition and his vanishing power. On account of this indiscretion, it was probable that Sir Francis Hincks might refuse to remain in the Cabinet unless Mr. Howe was dismissed. But Dr. Tupper took into account Mr. Howe's previous fortune, and stood by his erstwhile opponent, but now colleague, and covered his head in the day of adversity. At last an opportunity occurred of appointing his friend to a position which had been the dream of his life. The Cabinet accepted his recommendation, and Joseph Howe was made Governor of his native Province. Dr. Tupper's pledge to Mr. Howe in London in 1868, renewed again and again, and notably on the eve of Mr. Howe's election contest in 1869, was now fully kept, both in letter and in spirit.

Only a few weeks elapsed before the way was opened for Dr. Tupper to express his own and his father's friendship for another aged friend whom he had from childhood admired and loved. After Mr. Howe's death it was to Dr. Tupper a great pleasure to nominate Judge Johnstone as Mr. Howe's successor. Judge Johnstone at the time was

in the Old Country on leave of absence. In writing to Dr. Tupper, in whose hands he had left his resignation to be used for his retirement on a pension, he said:

TORQUAY,
June 17, 1873.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—I was so long accustomed to hail you by this title that it comes to me unconsciously now.

I have to thank you for the arrangements which have now been brought toward completion respecting the pension.

I suppose Prince Edward Island will now add to your force. It is pleasant to see the Confederation enlarging itself on every side. I have felt much Howe's death. It is melancholy to see the fruit of years of labour, the ambition of years, drop from the hand before he had well grasped it. One's sympathy makes much to be forgotten.

I was interrupted at this point by a telegram from Sir John Rose saying that Sir John A. Macdonald wished me to come out immediately. I am very grateful for the kind consideration of the Government in my favour. With our united regards to Mrs. Tupper and all with her—Believe me, Ever yours truly,

J. W. JOHNSTONE.

Judge Johnstone was reluctantly obliged to decline the appointment, as will be seen from the following letter:

FLEETWOOD,
June 30, 1873.

MY DEAR DOCTOR,—It is most painful to me to reflect upon the delay and inconvenience I have caused the Government, and on the disappointment of my friends in consequence of my declining at the last moment to assume the Government of Nova Scotia. After coming to London and experiencing my inability for exertion and exposure, and having consulted a medical man of eminence, I judged it best to draw back. I am much obliged by your kindness throughout the Equity Office, and, indeed, constantly. . . .—Believe me, Ever yours truly,

J. W. JOHNSTONE.

THE HON. C. TUPPER, C.B.

Before Sir John A. Macdonald's Government resigned, the Hon. S. L. Tilley was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick.

The caustic, vigorous pen and the trenchant, inflam-

matory platform deliverances of George Brown, the stubborn honesty of Alexander Mackenzie, and the judicial, solemn rhetoric of Edward Blake were turned upon the Government in the Huntington campaign. This powerful current of adverse criticism added vehemence to partisanship and local prejudices. The national sympathy and political sentiments of the Dominion had not at this stage been unified. Canadian citizenship was still provincial, its views narrow and local. The great Province of Ontario was no exception to the rule. The union with Quebec for more than a quarter of a century left these two colonies no less provincial than at the day of their union. For that period Canada, made up of these two Western Provinces, was an empty word. An Ontario man felt himself more at home in New York than in Quebec, and a Frenchman from the latter province was even more a stranger in Ontario, while a citizen of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island would feel himself among friends in Boston and an alien in Montreal or Toronto. This lack of general national sympathy in the hearts of a large proportion of the people of Nova Scotia had been increased by an intense antipathy to Canada through the anti-Confederate campaign.

In the period of transition from Provinces to a Dominion, leaders and people were all prophets, the minority of evil, but the great majority of good. Many extravagant things were uttered by both classes of political seers. While no one was more assured of a grand future than Dr. Tupper, no man among all the politicians of that day equalled him in heroic, tireless efforts to bring about his predictions—no one was his equal in going hither and thither over the Dominion, and everywhere rising above local prejudices, making the audiences, which were held spellbound by his assured declarations, feel that the Hon. Charles Tupper belonged to no province but was a citizen of Canada who felt the loyal pride of this new citizenship. This spirit

was contagious. The increase of Canadian sentiment was intelligent and rapid.

Never in his long political life did Sir John A. Macdonald stand higher as a statesman than he did at Washington when a plenipotentiary; and never was he so overwhelmed and crushed as when he resigned in 1873. He was largely denuded of both prestige and power. This spectacle called forth a jubilant shout of political victory from the Liberals. How did Sir John himself feel in this crisis? Let Sir Charles's journal reply to this interrogation:

"Sir John told me he was hopeless of ever succeeding and was determined to abandon the struggle. I urged him to retain the leadership of the party. I assured him that if he resigned, I also would retire from public life. At the urgent and unanimous request of the party, he consented to retain the leadership."

When the Government was on trial, and when its defeat was all but certain, Mr. E. B. Wood expressed the universal opinion of the House when he said: "Before many days the Government will have fallen like Lucifer, never to rise again." Dr. Tupper interjected: "But we *will* rise."

Both parties saw and admitted that the returning courage of the Conservative party emanated from the ubiquitous Dr. Tupper. It was greatly to his advantage that he was entirely free from the Huntington scandal. He knew nothing of it. Not a dollar of the large contributions to the election fund had gone to Nova Scotia. From the first this was seen and admitted by friends and opponents, and left to him the advantage of exerting himself, being in no way weakened by personal connection with the scandal.

As time went on, to neutralise the force of the charges made by the Liberal party which had proved the undoing of the Government, he attacked them, not for political weakness and unwisdom alone, but also for political wrongdoing in the use of money in their own elections.

The court trials and other revelations supplied him with facts in this direction. He knew that partisan zeal was the centre and soul of the inspiration which carried the Liberals to victory. There was in their campaign "a furious earnestness," impossible for an impartial discussion of principles and policies, by which political parties are divided. His knowledge of political history of the West and the men who had faced each other through violent conflicts all the way from the days of Lyon MacKenzie and Papineau until the time when John A. Macdonald and others fought over double majorities and deadlocks, enabled him to trace the spirit manifest in the vehemence of the Liberal victory to its remote sources. He knew that local issues, old and young, would be swallowed up and disappear in a sound, national Canadian sentiment, which had as yet appeared only in the germ. He did not have to wait long for the reaction. As far as political purity and integrity were concerned, the public soon reversed its opinion, formed in a whirlwind of agitation, that the Liberal party and its leaders possessed a monopoly of political virtues. As soon as the people were seized with this belief, the new Government was put on trial, not before a jury blinded by a partisan spirit, but before one less prejudiced and not deaf to fact and reason. In the Conservative party, courage which had vanished with defeat now began to rise with the dawn of success. Until this stage in the campaign of 1873 to 1878 was reached, hope and assurance were with Dr. Tupper. No one saw this more clearly, or more heartily admitted it, than did his fallen leader.

After the defeat of the Conservative Government, both Sir John A. Macdonald and Dr. Tupper returned to the practice of their respective professions. The former, that he might have a larger field, took up his residence in Toronto; the latter practised his profession in the city of Ottawa in winter, and in St. Andrews, New Brunswick, in summer.

Defeat of the Conservatives

The new Parliament opened on March 26, 1874. At the urgent request of Sir John A Macdonald, Dr. Tupper accepted the duties of critic of Mr. Cartwright, Finance Minister, and Alexander Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works. The Speech from the Throne said:

"The Canal and Harbour improvements are being vigorously prosecuted, with a view to ensure adequate accommodation for the rapidly growing trade of the country. . . . I regret to state that the receipts of the current year will not be sufficient to the expenditure. It will, therefore, be necessary for you to consider the best means to be adopted for making good the deficiency."

In this speech there were two admissions which Dr. Tupper did not fail to see and use to good effect. First, that the policy of the late Government in deepening the canals was accepted by the new administration as wise and in the best interests of the country; and second, that the trade of the country was rapidly increasing. Dr. Tupper, however, challenged the statement that the "receipts of the current year will not be sufficient to meet the expenditure." He denounced it as absolutely untrue, and that the Finance Minister could sustain it only by charging half a million dollars, voted and expended on capital account, to the consolidated revenue account.

As the Conservative Government was defeated in 1873, the supervision and the carrying into effect of the Washington Treaty, so far as the Canadian fisheries were concerned, was left to Mr. Mackenzie's Government.

In 1874 the Dominion Government sent George Brown to negotiate a Reciprocity Treaty, in conjunction with the English Ambassador at Washington, with a view to having such a treaty supersede the Washington Treaty so far as it related to the fisheries of the Dominion. Mr. Brown and the English Ambassador and the United States Agent succeeded in agreeing upon a Reciprocity Treaty which caused much dissatisfaction in Canada, but before Parliament met it was rejected by the Senate of the United

States. Before its rejection by the Senate, Dr. Tupper received a letter from Toronto requesting him to speak at a meeting called to oppose the Brown-Thornton Treaty. He sent it to Sir John, and received the following reply:

R. DU LOUP,
August 24, 1874.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 17th, and return Macdonnell's letter. I would go, were I you, to Toronto, if you can manage it. They are pressing me to go up, but I scarcely feel up to it. My fighting days are over, I think. My reason for saying that I think the leaders of the Opposition should not say too much *now* against the treaty is that it is of great consequence that the treaty should be condemned on its own merits or rather demerits by the country. The Boards of Trade and the industrial meetings have, without reference to politics, gone against it. Some of the leading Grit papers in Ontario are opposed to it. It is causing a decided split in the Grit ranks. The only thing that will heal that split is any attempt of the Opposition leaders to make political capital out of it. I think political pressure will give Mackenzie a majority with Commons, but I hope a small one. Our aim is to divide the Commons so equally as to embolden the Senate to throw out the treaty—and then dare the Government to dissolve on the question. I agree with you that adoption of the treaty will go far to secure annexation. This is so much to be deprecated and the defeat of the treaty so essential, that it is well worth the Opposition saying patriotically that the defeat of the treaty shall not be pressed by them (the Opposition) as a defeat of the Ministry. The Blake section would then probably be induced to vote against the treaty and thus kill Brown without killing the Government.

The Opposition would gain greatly by their patriotic course, and would prove the sincerity of what I said on behalf of the party that our motto was country first, party afterward. This sown upon the waters would come back to us, and not, I think, after *many* days. —Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

THE HON. C. TUPPER.

The Brown-Thornton Treaty included both natural and manufactured products. It became public before it reached the United States Senate, when, like other treaties, it was condemned. Before its defeat, as seen in the foregoing

letter from Sir John A. Macdonald, it was a matter of lively discussion among both political parties in Canada. The purpose of the Mackenzie Government in sending George Brown to Washington to negotiate a treaty was, in obtaining a treaty, to supersede the necessity of a session of the arbitrators appointed in connection with the Washington Treaty to fix the amount of the Dominion's claims for privileges granted the United States for fishing in Canadian waters. But as this attempt at making a new treaty proved abortive, the arrangement made by Sir John A. Macdonald, and sanctioned by the Dominion Parliament, continued in force. The award for the fishery claim was settled at Halifax in 1877.

CHAPTER XV

DR. TUPPER AS BUDGET CRITIC AND LEADER (1874—77)

IT now became the duty of Mr. Mackenzie to deal with the embarrassing question which had given the late Government so much trouble: What was to be done with Louis Riel? He had been elected a member for Provincher, and signed his name to the roll of members of the House. A warrant was issued for his arrest, but he could not be found. As he did not respond to the call of the Speaker on motion, he was expelled from the House by a vote of 124 to 68. After his expulsion, Riel was unanimously re-elected to represent the same constituency; but he was again expelled from the House. Having embarrassed both Governments, his case was before the House on February 11, 1875, when Mr. Mackenzie moved a resolution providing for an amnesty for all persons involved in the North-West Rebellion, except Riel and Lépine, conditional on five years' banishment from Her Majesty's Dominion. This was carried by a majority of 76, Dr. Tupper voting in the minority.

The Government brought in a Bill for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which was passed. No such courage appeared in this scheme as was exhibited in the project of the late Government, which aimed at connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific by a road which was to have been undertaken as a whole by a company. The project of Mr. Mackenzie's Government was for the Government to construct the road, piece by piece, according to the ability of the country, in their judgment, to bear the expense. The great lakes and the rivers in the West were to be used in the

open season, while the Government, by its cautious policy, constructed the road, section by section. The Liberals' scheme also provided for constructing a mail road from British Columbia through the mountainous section to the headwaters of the prairie rivers.

An Act was passed for the establishment of a Royal Military College at Kingston. In due time it was erected, and has been in operation until the present day.

The Hon. William Ross, Minister of Militia, was appointed Collector of Customs at Halifax; and the Hon. W. B. Vail, on September 30, 1874, succeeded Mr. Ross in the department of Militia. This opened the County of Victoria in Cape Breton. In the contest which followed, Mr. I. C. Campbell, a Conservative, defeated the Government's candidate. This was the first straw indicating the drift of a current adverse to the Government. Following this indication of returning strength to the small Opposition of forty-five members was a by-election in London, Ontario. Mr. Walker having been unseated and disqualified by the court, Mr. Fraser, a Conservative, was elected to represent that city.

As time went on it became evident that the loud denunciation by the Liberals of Sir John A. Macdonald for accepting Sir Hugh Allan's contribution to the election fund of 1872 came from people who lived in glass-houses.

At the close of the session of 1874, the Government passed a Bill for the official reporting of the debates. This was a measure Dr. Tupper had earnestly advocated in previous sessions of the House.

The second session of the new House was opened on February 4, 1875.

In the following may be found some features of the Budget speech by Mr. Cartwright, and Dr. Tupper's criticism of it:

In correspondence with Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, the Government accepted his proposals, which

were: that the railway from Esquimault to Nanaimo should be commenced and completed with all practical dispatch; that the surveys on the mainland should be pushed on with the utmost vigour; that the wagon road and the telegraph line should be immediately constructed; that $2,000,000 a year, and not $1,500,000—the amount proposed by the Government—should be the minimum expenditure on railway works within the Province of British Columbia, and that on or before December 31, 1890, the railway should be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific seaboard to a point on the western shore of Lake Superior.

Dr. Tupper challenged the correctness of the Minister's reference to both income and expenditure. He had taken liberties with the accounts never taken before. Mr. Cartwright had given the receipts of 1873-4 as $24,205,092.54, the expenditure as $23,316,316.75, showing a surplus of $888,775.79. "I am going," said Dr. Tupper, "to correct these statements. By a careful regard to expenditures on capital account, it would be seen that the Minister of Finance was largely astray in his zeal to place the onus of increased taxation on his predecessor by making a false representation, and therefore creating a deficit in 1873-74. Over $500,000, according to Mr. Mackenzie, Minister of Public Works, are improperly placed to revenue."

Dr. Tupper pointed out also that in the statement of the Minister of Finance in the previous year there was a deficit of one and a quarter millions due to railways, and that this statement had been used in London to the disadvantage of the Dominion in negotiating a loan. Dr. Tupper showed that instead of a loss of one and a quarter millions upon the railways, it amounted only to $408,119, and of this amount $275,719 were due, not to ordinary but to extraordinary expenses.

"How would the Grand Trunk officials," inquired Dr. Tupper, "like the £2,000,000 sterling expended in the purchase and laying down of

steel rails to be charged to the current expenses of a single year? . . . Deducting the cost of these extraordinary works, the House will observe that a deficit of $122,666.00 has been magnified into one and a quarter millions.

"The corrected statements of income and expenditure show $1,722,215 on July 1, 1874. I admit frankly that this amount is subject to some deduction, but I challenge the accuracy of the statements made on this point by the Finance Minister."

Mr. Cartwright stated that the expenditure for the ensuing year would be $24,100,000, and that he would ask the House for the additional taxation of $3,000,000 on the country. Dr. Tupper showed that his own statements of the previous year had been borne out by the public accounts laid on the table by the Minister of Finance himself.

Dr. Tupper further said:

"I have shown the hon. gentleman that he was wrong in his expressions with reference to the trade of the country, and which I do him the justice to say he has frankly and fairly admitted in the speech with which Parliament was opened this session. I have shown the hon. gentleman that he was wrong in reference to the revenue of the country, to the extent of something like two millions of dollars; and in reference to the expenditure of the country, something like a million and a quarter; and the hon. gentleman himself was compelled to admit that he was seriously wrong in the means by which he prepared to deal with what he conceived to to be the financial position of the country a year ago."

Dr. Tupper then referred to Mr. Cartwright's estimate for 1875, and reminded him that for the last four years he had dilated on the extravagance of the late Government. He had characterised the conduct of his predecessors in this respect as extravagant and reckless, and had pledged his party to retrench the public expenditure and economise the public money.

"I am prepared to say," continued Dr. Tupper, "that if the late Government was extravagant, the present Government is more so. . . . I say that the hon. gentleman has introduced a new principle in the negotiation of loans, by which a less honest successor could at any

moment put half a million dollars in his pocket without the possibility of this House or the country bringing him to an account. . . . I have the most unbounded confidence in the integrity of the hon. Minister of Finance, but it is not with him I am dealing, but with the principles which he has established for the first time."

The foregoing is sufficient to illustrate the thorough, exhaustive and destructive criticism of Dr. Tupper in dealing with Mr. Cartwright's Budget. His examination of this department soon convinced Mr. Cartwright and both sides of the House that the finances of the country could not escape a most searching investigation, and that unwisdom in its management was destined to exposure and condemnation.

The Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, also Minister of Public Works, fared no better at the hands of Dr. Tupper than did the Minister of Finance. The party which defeated the Conservative plan for constructing the great highway across the Continent had on its hands the responsibility of accomplishing the same undertaking by a policy devised by themselves. It was found, however, that the onus of doing the work was but a part of the responsibility which they had assumed. The country must be convinced that their policy was in every way superior to that of their predecessors—that, in fact, in this greatest public work the Liberal statesmen were abler and wiser than the leaders of the defeated party. On this question, Dr. Tupper, after a sharp and damaging criticism of Mr. Cartwright's Budget in 1875, attacked the policy and the doings of the Government through the Minister of Public Works. Dr. Tupper declared his utmost confidence in the patriotism and honesty of both Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Mackenzie, but with vehement plainness of speech, aided by his extraordinary memory, he instituted contrasts between the plan of the Opposition, when in power, and that of the Government. He charged Mr. Mackenzie with blundering when he purchased 50,000 tons of steel rails

on a falling market and long before they were needed, thereby causing a great loss to the country; of letting contracts involving large expenditures before appropriations were made by Parliament for these expenditures; of giving a contract for erecting a line of telegraph without legal authority and before the route of the railway was surveyed or accepted, which road the telegraph line was intended to serve.

In all these criticisms Dr. Tupper held to the principle on which the late Government had based its plan for connecting the two oceans by a railroad. His entire criticism, which showed that the Trunk Line would be so dependent on the Northern Railway, was gathered up and expressed in the following resolution, as an amendment to the report of the Minister of Public Works:

"That in view of the engagement entered into during the past year between the Government of Canada and the Imperial Government and British Columbia, to build a railroad without delay from Nanaimo to Esquimault on Vancouver Island, and to expend not less than $2,000,000 per annum in British Columbia on the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and to complete the construction of the line from the Pacific Ocean to the shore of Lake Superior in fifteen years, this House is of opinion that no time should be lost in beginning the eastern portion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and constructing it as rapidly as is consistent with a due regard to economy, from the point fixed by Parliament at or near the shore of Lake Nipissing, westward to Lake Nipegon, and thence to Red River, commencing at Lake Nipegon and working eastward and westward, and that the Government should employ the available funds of the Dominion in the first place for the completion of that great national work—a continuous railway on Canadian territory by the shortest route from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean."

This amendment was lost by a vote of 117 to 43.

Parliament was prorogued on April 8, 1875. A by-election in Toronto West was caused by the appointment of Mr. Ross to the Bench. In response to an urgent request from the Conservatives, Sir Charles consented to

give an address in favour of the Hon. Beverley Robinson, the Opposition candidate, an address which created some excitement through the publicity of a report in the Ottawa *Citizen* of November 6, 1875.

It is interesting to observe the ebb and flow of political life in any country. The force of the strong tide on which the Canadian Liberals were borne to victory in 1873 can be traced to several sources. By an evolutionary process the Coalition Government, formed for the purpose of confederating the Provinces, became Conservative. All the Liberals who did not ally themselves with the Government united with the stout resisters of the coalition, and revived the old-time zeal and relentless spirit of pre-confederation liberalism. All the Nova Scotia members of 1872 were elected to support the Government, except one who was an Independent. A large number of them were formerly Liberals who had come over with Mr. Howe when he took office in Sir John A. Macdonald's Government. In the appeal to the country, Dr. Tupper, in the circumstances, was obliged to give them his support, and in some cases against former Conservative friends. This, in the nature of things, evoked a good deal of blame from his erstwhile associates. In the trial which awaited them after Mr. Mackenzie's election of 1874, most of these Liberal supporters forsook Dr. Tupper and fled to fight again under the old standard.

The political history of Canada from 1874 to 1879 is to be found in the Budget Speeches of Richard Cartwright and Dr. Tupper's criticism of them, and the demands for supply from the Premier for the Department of Public Works and Dr. Tupper's criticism of them.

But the history of that period is even more concentrated than this. By reading Dr. Tupper's speeches, declaring his judgment of these two departments, so full are they of statements of the doings of the two Ministers responsible for them, and so clear, exact and elaborate is the

general and detailed criticism, that the reader gets ample knowledge for enabling him to come to an impartial judgment respecting them. More, even, than this. Beginning with 1875, Dr. Tupper found, as time passed, more and more evidence of incapacity and blunders, evidence clearer and clearer that in the Government, however many men of honour and integrity there may have been, there was not even one man who had a clear, sane vision of Canada's resources and possibilities, and a Government's duty in respect of them. That narrowness and timidity dominated the Cabinet, was to him as clear as the sun at noonday in a cloudless sky. Wherever he found anything for which he could give credit to the Administration, he was not slow to give it. But the errors and deficiencies of one year necessarily went over to the following year. They were carried on from session to session, ever cumulative, so that when the parliamentary term neared its close the foothills had swelled into mountains. Dr. Tupper's speech in Temperance Hall, Halifax, that on the Budget of 1876, and his powerful addresses to the House in 1877 and 1878, also his speech on the railway policy of the Government, contain about the sum total of the accusations against which, as they neared the end of their term of office, Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Mackenzie were called upon to defend themselves.

A feeling of depression in the Liberal-Conservative party in Halifax followed Mr. Mackenzie's sweeping success in the election of 1874. It was with difficulty that courageous men like the late John Doull and F. G. Parker could persuade the party to call the memorable meeting in Temperance Hall. They felt and saw at this early day that the sentiment of passion which had carried the Liberal party to victory had given place to one of careful thinking and examination of the great issues before the country and the future of the Dominion. Pent-up feelings were ripe for expression. As soon as the doors of Temperance Hall were opened it was

manifest that the political leaders in Halifax had not misjudged the signs of the times. When Dr. Tupper appeared, borne above the heads of the crowd on his way to the platform, the tumultuous shouts made it plain that all that was required of him was to analyse and point out the failures of the Government, and indicate remedies for the weakness and political blundering of the Cabinet.

The speech of that evening, in its confident tone, its trenchant criticism, its heroic remedies and its prediction of the early return to power of the Liberal-Conservative party, gave the key-note to the campaign which ended in the general election of 1878, and which from that evening at Temperance Hall, like a coming storm, gathered fullness and force until the telegraph flashed the victory of the general election over the wires from ocean to ocean. That speech, fully reported and carried by the Press to all parts of the Dominion, was the harbinger of the overthrow of the Mackenzie Government. In every meeting addressed by Dr. Tupper from that date, and they were many, until the day before the election, his chief work was to proclaim the weakness and unwisdom of the Government and promise the people prosperity by a change of policy. Evoked by his masterly power of popular speech, the vent given to public sentiment, growing stronger and stronger as the months and years passed, supplied Dr. Tupper with such inspiration as few orators have ever felt. It was like that which thrilled Mr. Gladstone in his first Midlothian Campaign in 1880.

Parliament met on February 10, 1876. In attacking the Budget Speech, Dr. Tupper boldly charged Mr. Cartwright with unpardonable blundering in his financial statements, by which he had attempted to prove that there was a large deficit in 1873-4, the last year of the late Government. Mr. Cartwright asked for additional taxes to meet this deficit. In previous years Dr. Tupper had exposed the errors and fallacies of the Minister of Finance in his endeavours to

hold the late Government responsible for a falling off of revenue and the leaving behind them a deficit instead of a surplus.

No language could be used by a biographer which would express the positive, plain and emphatic statements of the Budget critic.

The loss of confidence in the Administration was one of the causes assigned by Dr. Tupper for the commercial stringency in the Dominion. By making tea and coffee free, the late Government took $2,000,000 taxes off the public, but a duty on these articles had been reimposed by Mr. Mackenzie's Government. Dr. Tupper said:

"Mr. Cartwright had, in the public accounts, for the purpose of extricating himself, gone back on himself, and taken nearly half a million of money, that, in the Statute Book, is appropriated for current expenses, and charged it to capital. When his necessities require it, he charges as current revenue what belongs to capital, and when it suits him, he takes half a million of current expenditure and charges it to capital account. . . . If you are allowed to keep accounts like that, you may make a surplus or a deficit just when you like. Having given that explanation with regard to keeping the accounts, I come to this retrenchment question. And what do we find? The expenditure of the present Government in 1874-5 was over that of the late Government in 1873-4—for civil Government $25,582. The administration of justice for the same years shows an increase of $38,386. On militia the expenditure was $35,567 in excess of that of their predecessors. In ocean and river service the increase of expenditure was $45,742. Miscellaneous expenses show $29,448 on the same side. In the Customs the amount was $24,374; in the Post Office $133,984; in collection of minor revenues $11,496; Mounted Police $133,984; North-West organisation $14,440. In only a few items the gross increase has been $505,829."

At this stage, Dr. Tupper dismissed Mr. Cartwright's department and made Mr. Mackenzie's the subject of a peroration of his speech of effective, destructive criticism.

Mr. Workman, of Montreal, moved an amendment in favour of protection to manufactures, which was defeated by 96 to 54 on March 2. Sir John A. Macdonald moved

on March 10 in favour of protection of manufactures and industries, including agricultural products. Of this motion, Dr. Tupper said :

"An hon. gentleman had complained this resolution was too comprehensive, but that was just the policy Canada required—a broad, comprehensive national policy, that without looking to any particular part of the country would promote the prosperity of the whole Dominion. He did not believe any man in this House had the moral courage to stand up and deny the soundness of the principle contained in this resolution. Was there an intelligent man in this country who would not, if he could, so reconstruct the tariff as to alleviate a stagnation of business which was deplored in the Speech from the Throne? It must have been a severe depression which would cause the Government to make such an allusion to it, and the only ground on which it could be justified was that they were prepared to ask Parliament to adopt measures for its removal. Was there a man who would deny it was the duty of the Government, if they could, to afford fitting encouragement to our struggling industries? If there was he would like to see him. He (Dr. Tupper) saw no reason why the free-traders in this House should not join with the protectionists in supporting this resolution, and find some means of dealing with this difficulty in a statesmanlike and practical manner."

Mr. Mackenzie introduced a Bill for the Nanaimo Railway on Vancouver Island, to carry out the Carnarvon Terms. It was supported by Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper, until Mr. Mackenzie refused to have work let by contract. Mr. Blake voted against it, and it was defeated in the Senate by two Government supporters.

Lord Dufferin visited British Columbia during the summer of 1876, and made strong speeches in favour of Mr. Mackenzie. He refused to drive under an arch which bore the words, "The Carnarvon Terms or Separation." He required a change of one letter only, "R" for "S."

On his return to Toronto, Lord Dufferin sent for Dr. Tupper, and the following is an account of this interview contained in Dr. Tupper's journal :

"Lord Dufferin said : 'I suppose you have been watching my actions in British Columbia, and I hope you approve.'

I replied: 'No, my lord, I think you went too far in support of Mr. Mackenzie; but I admit the case was urgent, and will not bring it under notice more than I am compelled to.'"

The journal continues: "In June, 1876, my son, C. H. Tupper, who was preparing for his examinations for B.C.L. at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., in good-humoured tussle with a fellow-student, had his leg broken just above the ankle. Dr. ——— set the fracture, and secured his examination in his room by threatening to send him to the Hall on a stretcher when in great pain. He passed successfully. I went at once to Cambridge.

"My friend, T. N. Gibbs, who had been defeated at the general election of 1874, but unseated his opponent, wired me that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie and Hon. Mr. Huntington were coming into the riding to speak, and begged me to come to his assistance. I had my son's leg put in a plaster cast, carried him in my arms on board the steamer, and leaving him with a friend to see him home, hastened to South Ontario, met Messrs. Mackenzie and Huntington in battle array, and Mr. T. N. Gibbs was elected."

Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper attended a picnic at Uxbridge in North Ontario, where the Liberal member had been unseated and Mr. W. H. Gibbs, the Conservative candidate, was shortly afterwards elected.

Dr. Tupper says in his journal that his family was spending the summer at his farm, "Highland Hill," St. Andrews, N.B.

On July 27 Dr. Tupper was invited to attend the funeral of his great friend and supporter, the late Archbishop Connolly, of Halifax, and left St. Andrews for that purpose. On his way home after the funeral he went to Kingston, in the Annapolis Valley, to see his father. There he received a telegram saying that his son's wife had a daughter, and was very ill. He returned to St. Andrews to find that she had been prematurely confined and that her case was hopeless. She died on the third day. Her father and

mother, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Robertson, came from Montreal as rapidly as possible, but she had passed away. Her devoted husband arrived from Toronto, and was overwhelmed with grief to find there was no hope of her recovery.

All the family returned with the remains to Montreal, and Mrs. Tupper, who was crushed with grief at the loss, could never be induced to visit St. Andrews afterwards. As Dr. Tupper was alarmed by the grief with which his son was overwhelmed at the loss of his beloved wife, he decided to remove to Toronto and practise his profession there, and thus keep his son and his son's child together. He purchased a house in Jarvis Street, Toronto, to which he removed immediately. There he combined his medical practice with the continued political agitation of the country.

The Toronto *Mail* was the organ of the Conservative party, and Mr. T. C. Patterson was the editor. An article on "The Winter Port" having appeared in its columns, Dr. Tupper at once sent a letter to counteract its effect, the reply to which elicited the following:

TORONTO,
November 22, 1876.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter of yesterday has caused me more surprise and regret than the leader on "The Winter Port," and as I have called so frequently at the *Mail* office without being able to see you, I lose no time in writing to say so. The article in question, knowing as you did my views in relation to it, was sufficiently defiant, but I confess did not prepare me for your statement, that in consideration of aid obtained to carry on the *Mail*, you had made a "promise that this question, when it arose, should be handled as it was handled in Monday's *Mail*," and that you gave "other promises," and would "keep them all until released from observing them."

I cannot believe that the shareholders of the *Mail* ever contemplated making their manager a dictator, authorised to bind the *Mail*, for pecuniary consideration, to advocate any question irrespective of the public interests and regardless of the policy of the Liberal-Conservative party. Such a position on the part of the recognised organ of that party, I regard as not only incompatible with its claims to public confidence, but deservedly fatal to its success.

Dr. Tupper as Budget Critic and Leader

Although you have marked your letter to me "private," I hope you will agree with me in the opinion that this matter should at once be brought under the notice of the directors of the *Mail* and Sir John A. Macdonald, with a view to finding such support for the paper as will relieve it from such embarrassment, or if that be impracticable, to adopting such a course as will relieve the Liberal-Conservative party from the responsibility that now exists in relation to it.—Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

T. C. PATTERSON, ESQ.,
Manager of the *Mail.*

On November 29, 1876, Dr. Tupper was asked by Sir J. A. Macdonald to go to Mono Mills to settle a dispute as to candidates for the division. He went, as requested, and induced the party to accept Dalton McCarthy as their candidate. Mr. McCarthy, who had been twice defeated in Simcoe, was nominated, and was elected after Dr. Tupper had stumped the constituency in his favour for a week in opposition to G. W. Ross, M.P., the advocate of the Government candidate. Sir J. A. Macdonald was anxious that Dr. Tupper should take an Ontario constituency, but he refused and proposed Mr. Thomas White, editor of the Montreal *Gazette,* for Cardwell, who was elected in 1878.

Parliament opened on February 8, 1877. The Speaker reported six seats carried during the recess by the Conservatives in Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, five having been held the previous session by supporters of the Government, and the other caused by a death vacancy.

In February Mr. Blake made a virulent attack upon Sir John Macdonald in connection with the Northern Railway, in which he branded him as a criminal. Dr. Tupper replied, and in the course of his speech said :

"This was not the first time that the hon. the Minister of Justice (Mr. Blake) had applied the epithet of criminal to the right hon. the member for Kingston. The hon. member went into West Toronto and, surrounded by his personal acquaintances and friends, on a

public platform, he denounced the hon. member for Kingston as a convicted criminal, and appealed to the electors for a verdict against the right hon. member for Kingston, who was regarded by the large majority of the people of Canada as one of the most unstained and unselfish patriots to be found in the country. The hon. gentleman received his answer—500 majority in that magnificent constituency hurled the accusation back in his teeth and branded him as a slanderer. That verdict had been again and again endorsed by the people east, west, north and south, wherever there was a constituency free from the corrupt seductions of the Government."

Dr. Tupper then put Mr. Blake and Mr. Mackenzie on the defensive. Never in the history of the House of Commons was there such an overwhelming change witnessed in the attitude of the parties as during these speeches.

It was shown during this debate that when everything was known relating to the Canadian Pacific Railway charge, and that when Dr. Tupper and Mr. Tilley visited Prince Edward Island, they were assured by Mr. Laird that all the members from the Island would support the Government; that when the Prince Edward Island members were introduced to the House by the Conservatives, and that during the attack upon the late Government, these men were informed by the Liberals that if the Government were defeated the Island should have a member in the Cabinet.

A motion by Sir John Macdonald in favour of Protection was defeated only by a strictly party vote of 119 to 70.

Dr. Tupper says in his journal: "About the middle of March, Lord Dufferin was thrown from his sleigh in a runaway. He sent for me, Dr. Grant, his physician, being absent, and subsequently sent me the following letter:

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,
March 23, 1877.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—The first time I put pen to paper since my accident, must be to thank you most warmly for your kind attention and skilful treatment, which, I have no doubt, has saved me from a great deal of pain and accelerated my recovery.

Dr. Tupper as Budget Critic and Leader

I found myself forced to lie upon my back without stirring hand or foot for a week, but yesterday afternoon I scrambled into a chair by the fire, and have got my clothes on to-day, and now that I am round the corner I have no doubt I shall soon be myself again.—Believe me, With renewed thanks, Yours sincerely,

DUFFERIN.

On the motion to go into supply on April 7 Mr. Bowell moved an amendment founded on the report of the Committee of Public Accounts, showing that Mr. Anglin, the Speaker, had been paid various sums for public printing, and declaring that it was inexpedient and improper for the Government to enter into any contract whereby money should be paid to members of Parliament in violation of the Independence of Parliament Act. Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Blake called upon their supporters to vote against that motion. During the discussion Dr. Tupper, in the course of his speech replying to Mr. Blake, made the following remarks:

". . . The hon. gentleman had, that night, given up the whole case before the House. What was the case? The Parliament of the country was asked, in defence of its own character, and in defence of its own reputation, to say that it was inexpedient and improper that the Government of Canada should pay $19,000 of the public money to a gentleman who held a seat in the Parliament of the country. A law on the Statute-book declared that any hon. gentleman receiving from the Government, directly or indirectly, a single dollar of public money for services performed for the Government, vacated his seat, and that it became void. And yet, the Minister of Justice, and the men who yesterday were claiming the confidence of the people of Canada on the ground of what they intended to achieve for the independence of the Parliament of the country and for the elevation of political and public morality in this country, in face of the case which the First Minister admitted, and which the Minister of Justice admitted, was so open, so clear and so palpable, that it warranted being sent to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, these hon. gentlemen had so far gone back on themselves and trampled under their feet the principles which they had proclaimed when seducing the people of the country into the belief that they were worthy of being entrusted with power and the control of public affairs, and had so far forgotten the professions on which they obtained the position which they now

held, as to call on their supporters to vote down what was a plain, a palpable and a literal fact, which every man who saw could read, and which every intelligent man in the House or out of it was capable of grasping at a glance. It was inexpedient and improper, unless the Parliament of Canada was to become a by-word in the mouths of the people of the country, that while the law stood on the Statute-book the Public Exchequer should be used for the purposes of pouring money out of its coffers into the pockets of members of the Parliament of Canada. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Mackenzie) said they stopped it as soon as they knew of it. And why did they stop it? Was it because it was wrong? If so, the very fact that they did stop it, and gave to the House the reasons they had for doing so, would convict these hon. gentlemen of having adopted a course which bound them in vindication of the Parliament and the honour of the House of Commons of Canada, to vote themselves with the mover of the resolution, declaring that this act was improper and inexpedient. If it was proper and expedient, why did they take the patronage they had bestowed, and the money they had paid, from a member of the House? It was because they found it was not proper and not expedient, and because they found that, having violated the law, they were compelled to adopt that course. . . ."

On April 21 Dr. Tupper made an important speech on the Canadian Pacific Railway which occupied four hours to deliver, and which is fully reported in "Hansard." The effort was a great one—one of the greatest, indeed, ever made by the speaker—and the policy of the Government was most mercilessly dealt with. The speech ended thus:

"The whole policy of the Government, as propounded by the hon. gentleman, has been utterly delusive, and to-day we find ourselves without any advance, without anything accomplished, but minus a large sum of money which has been paid to parties, who, contrary to law, were entrusted to carry out contracts. I am sorry that I have been obliged to trespass on the indulgence of the House so long, but I think I have adduced sufficient evidence to support the motion which I now have the honour to move. I have endeavoured, and I think the hon. the First Minister will agree with me in the statement, to avoid every question that could raise an unpleasant topic of discussion between the occupants of the Treasury Benches and ourselves. Notwithstanding the great temptation that was presented as I proceeded in this discussion, I have

carefully endeavoured to give a simple statement of facts presented by the Government themselves, as brought down in public documents; and if I have not established successfully that the Government have failed in their duty to the country, and that the course they have pursued on this great question has been detrimental to the interests of the country, then I have no grounds on which to ask for the support of this House. But I feel that the case that has been presented is one which entitles me confidently to ask your support, and if I do not obtain it from this House there is an equally independent tribunal in this country to which I can confidently look for the affirmation of this motion which I have now the honour to offer. . . .

"That Mr. Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be Resolved, That this House cannot approve of the course pursued by this Government with respect to the Canadian Pacific Railway."

The House listened with the closest attention during the four hours occupied in delivering this speech. In reference to it, the Hon. S. L. Tilley, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, wrote:

FREDERICTON,
May 26, 1877.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—As you have got back home from the session and have had a few weeks' rest, I will inflict a letter upon you.

Well, you wound up the session under considerable excitement and in a dangerous way to the Government.

As I have not written you since you delivered your speech on the Pacific Railway, I desire to state that, in my judgment, you have never delivered a speech more damaging to the Government and more worthy of yourself. Its moderation gave it additional force, and as a whole is unanswered and likely to remain so, because it is unanswerable. It has been pretty generally circulated, and read with intense interest by all with whom I have conversed.

I had a letter from Sir John a few days since. He seems positive that a general election will take place this year. The Opposition in New Brunswick are quietly looking up their men, and will look after the Electoral Lists. But what is wanted, especially should Mackenzie visit the Lower Provinces, is some strong speeches in New Brunswick from Sir John or yourself. A few would answer, as they might be published in a way to be scattered broadcast. I think I understood you last year that you would, if desired, give our people a speech or two this year. This done, there will certainly be a majority against the

Government in New Brunswick, come when the general election may. I think the Government will postpone the appeal to the country as long as possible, but it is not wise perhaps to express that opinion generally, as it is better that the Opposition should be up and doing. As the picnic season is soon to commence I suppose we will not see you in New Brunswick for some time. Whenever you do come, I would like to have a long talk with you on matters generally. . . . —Yours sincerely,

S. L. Tilley.

Hon. C. Tupper, C.B.

CHAPTER XVI

CONSERVATIVES AGAIN IN POWER (1878—79)

THE House was prorogued on April 24, and Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper returned to Toronto.

On May 7 Dr. Tupper addressed a large meeting at Toronto, and on June 7 he spoke at length at the Grangers' picnic at Orangeville. On June 6 he and Sir John Macdonald attended a demonstration held in their honour at Kingston. Addresses were presented to both. That to Dr. Tupper contained the following:

"By your valuable labours in Parliament you have earned the gratitude and esteem of all lovers of good government. Your attention to your duties has been unremitting. Your able and exhaustive speeches in condemnation of the maladministration of the Government, your *exposé* of the blunders of its members and the jobbing practised in its various ramifications have been read all over the country with pleasure and profit, speeches which attest as well your great industry and your oratorical power. The young men of the country may learn from you the useful lesson that vigour in debate is not incompatible with courtesy to an opponent."

After Dr. Tupper had addressed the great assembly for some three hours and closed amid tumultuous applause, Sir John was loudly called for. In response, he said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the few words in which I addressed you at the opening of the meeting, I said I was sure that if you heard the Hon. Charles Tupper you would be thankful to me for bringing him here. I think you must be grateful. You have heard his speech and the facts he has detailed, and I think you may hold me excused from keeping you here any longer. I am not going to inflict another speech on you to-night, as my honourable friend has gone over the whole field in his own peculiar manner—a manner

in which no man can approach him in the whole Dominion of Canada. Gentlemen, I want you to know, as most of you do know, that the facts referred to by my honourable friend are not made behind the backs of the Administration. They are not for the first time thrown before a friendly audience such as the majority of the audience present. I have heard my hon. friend—leading the Opposition in effect—state the same facts, use the same arguments and go into the same discussions, and the Government were obliged to admit the truth of the facts, and the whole country the force of the arguments. . . . I have long been anxious to retire from the position I have held, and I am sure you will say from the acquaintance you have formed with my friend, the Hon. Dr. Tupper, he is a man who will fill my place. Still, although it is suggested that politicians are sometimes jealous of one another's places, I can tell you this, that the man who has urged me to retain my position, who said that if I gave it up he would give up too, is the Hon. Dr. Tupper."

Dr. Tupper and Sir John Macdonald had a most enthusiastic reception in London (Ontario), and made extended speeches which were duly reported in the *Mail*, June 17.

The Toronto *Mail* of June 18 reported a speech made at Brampton in which Dr. Tupper effectually refuted the statements of the *Globe*, criticising his speeches. Other addresses were given by Dr. Tupper at Millbrook, Newmarket, Lindsay and Napanee, after which he visited his constituents in Cumberland, Nova Scotia. While there, Sir John Macdonald wrote to him as follows:

TORONTO,
August 22, 1877.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I have yours of the 17th. I telegraphed you to-day that great disappointment is expressed at your absence from our September picnics. The more that I had told people you would be back by the end of August, and would go to some, if not all, of the meetings. Try to come up if possible. My hands are very full of these informal things. At present they stand thus: Coburg, August 29; Essex, September 5; Napanee, September 11; Victoria, September 12; Newmarket (North Terk), September 14; Ontario, September 17; North Simcoe, September 19. I have pressing letters from the River Counties, so have written to ask Macdonell to arrange

for a series of meetings after September 21, at Brockville, Stormont, Glengarry, Dundas and Prescott.

Brockville will do for all Leeds and Grenville, and I hope one meeting will do for Stormont and Dundas. I have stipulated that if possible, there will be one day for rest between each meeting—I don't know what to think on the chances of a dissolution. At Caronna the other day, Walter Cassels, Blake's partner, told me he was positive there would be no dissolution. The London *Free Press* announces that Mowat is to have an early session and then a joint election for the Dominion and Ontario in January, and says the faithful have got notice, and are preparing.

Again, I have heard it said that Mackenzie went to the Maritimers to see how the people were affected and if the answer was favourable, he would dissolve. Well, he has got his answer and won't dissolve, one would say. The Grits have made an awful mistake in making the Dunkin Act a political affair in Toronto. Last night the vote against it was over 1,100, and if the Grits insist upon keeping the poll open, it will be over 1,500. Dymond killed the movement. Now we won't lose a single Conservative teetotaller at next election, while the Grits have alienated every Grit brewer, distiller, grocer and licensed victualler in Ontario—I am told Cartwright is safe to be beaten. They wish to nominate you. Try to be there on the 11th.—Yours faithfully,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

The Halifax *Chronicle* being under the sole control of William Annand, who continued his hostility to Confederation, was not acceptable to many of the Liberals of Nova Scotia. The *Citizen,* of Halifax, came into the possession of a company formed to express faithfully the views of the Liberal party, sustaining Mr. Mackenzie's Government. Mr. A. G. Jones, of Halifax, and W. B. Vail, of Digby, became stockholders in this company. But it was ascertained that the paper was receiving Government patronage, which made these members chargeable with violating the Independence of Parliament Act. Strenuous efforts were made to induce Mr. Blake to find a way of deliverance for them other than resigning their seats in Parliament, but Mr. Blake persisted in resisting these importunities. The two men were, therefore, obliged to vacate their

seats and appeal again to their constituencies. This gave a much desired opportunity to test the sentiments of Digby and Halifax counties. Dr. Tupper saw his chance and left for Halifax, where a meeting was called at an hour's notice for January 9, 1878. At 8.30 p.m. Dr. Tupper ascended the platform, and for an hour and a half addressed an enthusiastic audience. He proceeded the next day to Digby, where he met and defeated the Minister of Militia, Mr. Wade, the Conservative candidate, being elected in his place.

On Saturday, January 19, 1878, a great meeting took place in the drill-shed at Halifax which ended at midnight. Mr. Jones, who was virtually a defeated man, took an express train to Ottawa and was sworn in as Minister of Militia in place of Mr. Vail, defeated at Digby. His former majority of 1,247 was reduced to 228.

Parliament was called to meet on February 7, 1878.

Dr. Tupper says in his journal: "The day before, I called to pay my respects to the Governor-General. He asked me what I thought would be the result. I replied: 'Your Lordship's administration will be routed, horse, foot and artillery.' 'Why do you think so?' he replied. 'Because they obtained their majority by springing an election when the issue before the country was not understood, and in the numerous elections that have been held since they have been badly beaten all over Canada.'"

After Dr. Tupper left Government House, Mr. Mackenzie called on Lord Dufferin, who told him what Dr. Tupper had said. Mr. Mackenzie replied: "The doctor is a very sanguine man, and I have no doubt thinks so; but he is mistaken. We will, no doubt, lose some of our support, but our majority is still too large to be turned."

In 1877, after a long and thorough discussion of the trade policy, in which protection to home industries was advocated in the House by many able speeches, notably

those of Sir John Macdonald and Dr. Tupper, the Free Trade Government was sustained in its contention by a vote of 119 to 70. The discussion was continued in the Press and on the platform with unabated interest until the reassembling of Parliament in 1878, when the fact that this was the last session before a dissolution and an appeal to the people gave zest, sharpness and power to the resumed debate.

On February 22 the Minister of Finance made his Budget Speech, and Dr. Tupper replied.

Sir John Macdonald proposed, seconded by Dr. Tupper:

"That it be resolved that this House is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion—that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly depressed—will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market, will encourage and develop an active inter-provincial trade, and by moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade."

This was defeated by 114 to 77.

Mr. Mackenzie had introduced a Bill to authorise the Government to have the Branch Railway subject only to the House of Commons. The Senate amended the Bill by providing that the approval of the Senate should also be required. Mr. Mackenzie refused the amendment and pronounced the action of the Senate unconstitutional. Dr. Tupper sustained the action of the Senate, and said a precedent such as the First Minister demanded would enable the Government with a small majority to hand over to the Grand Trunk Railway the Intercolonial or the Canadian Pacific Railway without the assent of the Senate.

The intention of the Bill was to enable the Government

to lease the Pembina Railway to the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway, in which the member for Selkirk was deeply interested.

While the members were waiting for the summons of the Black Rod for the prorogation of the House, Mr. Smith raised the question of privilege, and defended himself against Sir John Macdonald's statement that the Pembina Bill was to reward him for his support of the Government. Mr. Smith then went on to attack Dr. Tupper for a speech he made at Orangeville during the previous summer. Dr. Tupper said:

"I rise to a question of order. I put it to you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is not an abuse of the right to read from a newspaper, for the hon. gentleman has had that speech here during the three months we have been in session, and to speak at the moment when the Black Rod is coming to the door, and thus to shelter himself from the answer he would otherwise get."

Sir John Macdonald—"And the punishment he would otherwise get."

Mr. Smith—"I had no such opportunity."

Dr. Tupper—"A more cowardly thing I have never heard of in this House."

Mr. Smith—"I am not surprised at this from the hon. gentleman."

Dr. Tupper—"Anything more cowardly I have never heard of. I am responsible for every word I have uttered on the platform. I have sat here for three months and no reference has been made to this by the hon. gentleman. Nor has any other hon. gentleman ventured to challenge one word I had said during the recess of Parliament."

Mr. Smith—"The charge of being a coward I throw back on the hon. gentleman."

Sir John A. Macdonald—"Let the poor man go on."

Mr. Smith—"The hon. member for Cumberland said——"

The uproar continued until the Black Rod was admitted by order of the Speaker, and so ended the memorable session of 1878.

Sir John Macdonald wrote to Dr. Tupper as follows:

Conservatives Again in Power

TORONTO,
May 13, 1878.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Do try and go to London on Wednesday. There is a mass meeting to choose a candidate at seven in the evening. A rattling speech from you would do infinite good, not only in London, but in Middlesex and Elgin. You can leave in the morning, be comfortably bestowed on Wednesday night and leave next day when you like.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

On May 21, Dr. Tupper spoke in favour of Rufus Stephenson at his nomination at Chatham, and went to London that night, where on the 22nd he addressed a large meeting in favour of the Hon. John Carling, in whose favour Mr. Fraser had retired.

On July 17, 1878, Dr. Tupper made a memorable speech at Sydney, Cape Breton, and the opposition to the Government, manifest in Nova Scotia at the time of Dr. Tupper's speech in Temperance Hall, and in the defeat of Mr. Vail and the virtual defeat of Mr. A. G. Jones, was evidently strong and irresistible in the great audience.

Dr. Tupper delivered addresses also in Pictou, Halifax, Port Hood, Cumberland, Liverpool and various other parts of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

The election campaign was a strenuous one, and feeling ran high, as is evinced in the following letter :

ST. JOHN,
September 7, 1878.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—Thanks for your note written at Moncton. I got bruised considerably on Monday night, but have been out today for a couple of hours, and hope to be all right in a few days.

I am glad you were able to visit the Island. I can understand the difficulties they have to contend with, and your speeches will help our friends very much.

The cry here is duty on flour and coal. They frighten the poor people with it, and they lie so that there is some difficulty in counteracting the effect of these statements.

The Government party are making unheard-of exertions, all through the Province, especially in St. John city and county, but our friends

are plucky. We count on from two to three hundred majority in the city, and are working hard to carry both men for the county. . . . We hope, however, to divide New Brunswick, though the absence of organisation until within the last two weeks, and the press generally has been against us.

You will have seen that the Toronto *Globe* only gives us nine opposition men in the Maritime Provinces. This shows how utterly unreliable are their calculations. Does Nova Scotia continue to look good for a majority of nine ?—Yours sincerely,

S. L. Tilley.

Hon. Dr. C. Tupper, C.B.

The election of 1878 took place on September 17. The large majority of over sixty by which the Liberal Government was sustained in 1874 was not only annihilated, but the Conservatives were returned to power with about the same majority on their side. Sir Charles's forecast to Lord Dufferin was fulfilled. Mr. Mackenzie and his party were assured of victory until they were undeceived by the polls on election day. It is not necessary to regard Mr. Mackenzie as uncandid in his judgment of the elections given to the Governor-General, because it differed so widely from that of Dr. Tupper, which proved to be correct.

On October 8 Mackenzie resigned, and Sir John A. Macdonald was called upon to form a Ministry. He wrote to Dr. Tupper :

Windsor Hotel, Montreal,
October 9, 1878.

My dear Tupper,—By appointment I met the Governor-General at 1.15 to-day. He was very gushing, and said that on personal grounds the warmest wish of his heart was gratified by his having the opportunity of charging me with the formation of a Ministry. Mackenzie resigned last night, but it dates from to-day.

I told him my Cabinet was not cut and dry, and could not be till Wednesday when Masson was expected. He remains, therefore, until the 19th. We talked over tariff and a number of things, but he said that as he was going to remain, we could resume our conversation daily on the several topics of public interest. He seemed satisfied and relieved by my general opinion as to tariff.

I have telegraphed for Pope, Jas. Macdonald and Tilley. I think

that as they won't he here for a couple of days you can safely go to Gooderich if wanted. With R. L. Cartwright out, Tilley will have plain sailing, so we must defeat him if possible. John O. Donoghue, Hawkins and Foly must go up to fight the Catholics. The I. Canadians must also speak out.

Will you see Foly and have all this attended to ? Joly is doomed. Terrcotte, the Speaker, has been boasting that, "We Conservatives have crushed the Rouges." I have seen most of the Montreal Conservatives. . . . They are against Langevin.—Yours always,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

After the general election Dr. Tupper, on returning to his home in Toronto, told Mrs. Tupper that it would be necessary for them to go back to Ottawa to reside. His journal informs us that her reply was: "It is more than it is worth to leave Toronto." He adds that it was hard indeed for them to leave a city where they had received so much kindness from the most agreeable people.

The following were the members of the Cabinet formed by Sir John A. Macdonald:

The Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, *Minister of the Interior and Prime Minister.*
The Hon. S. L. Tilley, *Minister of Finance.*
The Hon. Charles Tupper, *Minister of Public Works.*
The Hon. John Henry Pope, *Minister of Agriculture.*
The Hon. John O'Connor, *President of the Privy Council.*
The Hon. James Macdonald, *Minister of Justice and Attorney-General.*
The Hon. Hector Langevin, *Postmaster-General.*
I. Cox Aikens, *Secretary of State.*
Senator the Hon. L. F. R. Masson, *Minister of Militia and Defence.*
The Hon. J. C. Pope, *Minister of Marine and Fisheries.*
The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, *Minister of Customs.*
The Hon. Alex. Campbell, *Receiver-General.*
The Hon. R. D. Wilmot, *Speaker of the Senate.*

All were re-elected by acclamation.

A portrait of himself, painted for the citizens of Ottawa by Mr. R. I. Colin Forbes, R.C., was presented to Dr. Tupper at a large public meeting on his return to Ottawa.

Lord Dufferin was succeeded as Governor-General by the Marquis of Lorne, who, with his Royal wife, Princess Louise, landed at Halifax in the autumn of 1878. Sir John A. Macdonald and Dr. Tupper went to Halifax to meet them, and were entertained at Government House. The Marquis of Lorne was duly sworn into office in the Province Building at Halifax by the Chief Justice, Sir William Young. Sir John A. Macdonald and Dr. Tupper accompanied the Governor-General and Princess Louise on their journey to Ottawa.

On assuming the duties of Minister of Public Works, Dr. Tupper found that a link of railroad of 185 miles length was needed to connect Lake Superior with Winnipeg. Mr. Mackenzie's timid policy of water stretches and a wagon road through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean had accomplished but little. General dissatisfaction prevailed. The bold undertakings of Sir John A. Macdonald's Government of 1873 had been defeated by a combination of men not qualified for the times and inspired by a partisan spirit, and for it they had substituted a policy of fear and shortsightedness. This, at length, was condemned by public sentiment.

Dr. Tupper took prompt measures to put under contract the 185 miles of road necessary to unite Winnipeg with Thunder Bay, on Lake Superior.

After assuming power in 1873, Mr. Mackenzie had dismissed the Superintendent of the Intercolonial Railway and appointed Mr. Brydges in his place. On several occasions in the Commons, Dr. Tupper had criticised and condemned the management of the new superintendent. On the return of the Conservatives to power, influential efforts were made to induce Dr. Tupper to retain Mr. Brydges' services. Mr.

Brydges himself assured Dr. Tupper that he would serve faithfully under him.

To these appeals Dr. Tupper replied that having characterised Mr. Brydges' railway management as he had on the floor of the House of Commons, he could not stultify himself before the public. Also, Mr. Brydges had authorised the statement that the operation of the Intercolonial Railway would cost the country $700,000 more than the receipts, that the deficit under his management was $716,083, while he, Dr. Tupper, hoped to balance the one with the other. Dr. Tupper, therefore, told Mr. Brydges that in the circumstances his proposal would not be creditable to either of them, but that he would be glad to promote his interests in any other possible way. Mr. Brydges thanked him for his kindness, and resigned his office. They continued friends as long as Mr. Brydges lived.

The re-location of the Intercolonial Railway effected a large reduction in the cost of the service. Mr. David Pottinger was appointed Chief Superintendent in the place of Mr. Brydges. After thoroughly discussing the whole matter of conducting the road with Mr. Schreiber, Mr. Pottinger and Mr. Archibald, the engineer, large reductions were made in the number of employees and the salaries of those whose services were retained. The whole system was reorganised with a view to justice and economy. The result was that the income and the expenditure were nearly equalised.

Parliament opened on February 13, 1879. The first division took place just a month later. It was on the motion of Sir John A. Macdonald censuring the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec for dismissing his Ministers. The motion was carried by 136 to 51. The day following, Mr. Tilley, Minister of Finance, introduced his Budget, which carried out the principle of the National Policy advocated by Dr. Tupper in the first session of the Dominion House of Commons after Con-

federation, and afterwards adopted as the policy of the Conservative party while in opposition from 1873 to 1878. Mr. Cartwright replied to the Budget speech of the Minister of Finance.

This was a crisis in the history of the young Dominion. The new fiscal policy was essential and vital. The example of England from 1832 to the date of its introduction into the Dominion Parliament was against it. It was an old order of things in legislation, and under the leadership of Richard Cobden, after a prolonged and severe struggle, had been driven from the politics of the Mother Country. It was now regarded by Liberals as effete, condemned and cast out. To favour and advocate it required great courage. Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Cartwright felt safe and strong in opposing it. But in conditions and circumstances widely differing from those of the Old Country, under the advocacy and leadership of Dr. Tupper, the Conservative party, some members no doubt with misgivings and timidity, had adopted it and were prepared to carry it into operation. The United States, by a high tariff, had just entered upon her career of political, industrial and financial prosperity. If the sentiment of English statesmen was against a National Policy, that of the politicians of the United States was in favour of it. A policy so radical would necessarily affect the country in an extreme degree, either for better or for worse.

The views at this crisis given by Dr. Tupper in his speech in reply to Mr. Cartwright supply the reader with a definite knowledge of the arguments used by him when the matter was under discussion in the House of Commons. His criticisms of Mr. Cartwright, the late Finance Minister, were fearless and crushing. His confidence in the effect the National Policy would have on the prosperity of the country has been justified in its history. In referring to the succession of deficits under Liberal rule, Dr. Tupper said:

"And yet, sir, year after year, this wonderful financier, this heaven-born financier, this man who now stands up and would lead

the people of Canada to believe, and would lead the new members—he cannot deceive the old ones in this House—to believe that his wonderful sagacity, his marvellous prescience alone can save Canada, came back with these steadily accumulating deficits, until, at the end of his five years of office, he found himself, notwithstanding his three millions additional of taxation for which he asked Parliament, and the tariff which he gave to the House, face to face with a deficiency, during the last four years, of no less than seven million dollars. . . .

"In the hon. gentleman's contention there were two postulates which were irreconcilable. His first postulate is that out of the hard earnings of the people we are going to build up private fortunes. His second postulate is that you are going to bring about a ruinous competition that will destroy the manufacturers. How, sir, will the hon. gentleman reconcile these two statements?

"The hon. gentleman has answered the only argument in which there is a shadow of a possibility of a doubt, connected with the policy of my hon. friends, and that is that the effect of the industries being protected from unfair and unjust competition from without is to bring capital into the country, furnish labour for the masses of the people, and at the same time relieve them from oppressive and injurious prices by the competition thus engendered among manufacturers. . . .

"The hon. gentleman is not alone in his discovery of the increasing prosperity of the United States. Every man who has examined the condition of that country has rejoiced to find that the depression which affected it is passing away. There are signs of prosperity from one end of the country to the other, and that in a country that enjoys, or 'suffers under,' as the hon. gentleman would put it, the most severe protection in the world. In this highly protected country, without any change or amelioration of the tariff—a country which at the close of a gigantic war and frightful internecine struggle, overwhelmed with an enormous debt that threatened to break down the prosperity and credit of the country, resorted in that emergency to a protective policy, with a balance of trade against it of $150,000,000; in this country, I say, we are observing a prosperous reaction from the recent general depression. Is there any better evidence of prosperity than the fact that, instead of increasing the taxes, they have been wiping the taxes off by hundreds of millions—$300,000,000 swept off in the course of eight years. The United States is a country which, in relation to public affairs, will challenge comparison with any country in the world. And yet this country, the only one on the horizon of the world the hon. gentleman can point to as exhibiting an increasing prosperity, is the country, unfortunately for him, which

has carried out to the fullest extent a policy, of which this is only a feeble counterpart. . . .

"The hon. gentleman opposite brought matters to such a state as made their late Finance Minister unwilling to show his face in the European money market—where he found he had to confess his failure—when he could no longer point to the enormous growing revenue and the prosperity the country enjoyed in our time—when he had to confess that he himself with three millions fresh taxes was met with seven millions of a deficit in four years—no wonder he shrank from appearing in the world's money market to borrow money sadly wanted. His confession convicts him either of incapacity or want of patriotism. . . ."

Incidentally, while discussing the matter of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway, Dr. Tupper said:

"The ex-Minister had accused the Government, at different times, of having introduced a tariff hostile to British interests, and in favour of the United States, and had stated that, therefore, they could not expect to obtain aid in England. The hon. gentleman, at all events, had said that the reason the Government would not go to England was because they had adopted a tariff prejudicial to British interests, that the time was inopportune. The hon. the leader of the Opposition had also taken that ground in the most emphatic terms. He stated that the tariff was in favour of American and against British interests. He held a different view. One of the reasons which led the Government to consider the necessity of readjusting the tariff was, that all the trade of Canada was flowing in the direction of the United States instead of the Mother Country. He (Dr. Tupper) maintained that the present time was opportune. This Government could go to the Imperial Government with the confidence of receiving their support in their application. This Government could do that which their predecessors would not have been warranted in doing. They would be in a position to say that they felt it their duty, when they found the expenditure of the country exceeding the resources, to come down with a tariff that would give such a revenue as would cover the expenditure. That was not likely to hurt us in the estimation of the English capitalists or Government, when they would be called on to endorse the bonds of Canada, for we had not only given them the assurance that all the credit they had given us had been fully redeemed, but that the Government, in order to show to the world that the credit of the country always should remain unimpaired, had brought down a tariff which would create a revenue ample to meet all expenditure."

Conservatives Again in Power

After preliminary negotiations with the Grand Trunk Railway, Dr. Tupper arranged with that company for the purchase of one hundred miles of their road from Rivière du Loup to Quebec. This bargain was sanctioned by Parliament and an Act passed confirming it. Parliament provided also $1,875,000.00 to meet the expenses of the transaction. Dr. Tupper introduced a Bill dividing the department of Public Works, one to be known as that of Public Works, and the other as that of Railways and Canals, and after it had been adopted himself took over the portfolio of Minister of Railways and Canals.

The matter transcending in importance all others brought up in this session of Parliament, except, perhaps, a sane and sound tariff, was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Some progress had been made on the Georgian Bay Branch; but, as has been stated, the line between the west of Lake Superior and Winnipeg lacked 185 miles in the middle to unite these two points. All saw that the completion of this link was of the greatest importance.

Dr. Tupper submitted the railway policy of the Government by moving a series of resolutions authorising Parliament, after deciding on its location and endeavouring to secure the co-operation of the British Government, to put under contract 125 miles of the Canadian Pacific Railway. To the adverse criticisms of Messrs. Mackenzie, Mills, Cartwright and others who spoke against these resolutions, Dr. Tupper made an effective reply. They had objected to his resolutions because power was asked to contract for 125 miles of the road before it was located. Dr. Tupper showed that, in the first place, the Act of 1874, authorising the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway by the Government, did not require the sanction of Parliament to the location of any part of the road, and secondly, that Mr. Mackenzie had contracted for long sections of the line without the sanction of Parliament; that, in fact, he had advertised for tenders for 125 miles from Yale to Kamloops without the sanction of Parlia-

ment, and, as he believed, had not the Government changed it would now be in the hands of contractors without Parliamentary sanction. If assistance should be obtained from the British Government, then application would be made to Parliament for the appointment of commissioners to carry out the plan for building the road to the Pacific coast.

Mr. Mackenzie's amendment to Dr. Tupper's resolutions was defeated by 115 to 37.

Parliament was prorogued on May 15.

On the 24th of the same month Her Majesty conferred upon the Hon. Charles Tupper, the Hon. S. L. Tilley, the Hon. Alexander Campbell and the Hon. Richard J. Cartwright the title of K.C.M.G. They were duly installed in that order at the Windsor Hotel, Montreal, by the Marquis of Lorne.

Sir Charles received many letters of congratulation, among which were the following:

117 Park Street, Grosvenor Square,
London,
May 9, 1879.

My dear Sir Charles,—Allow me to take the opportunity of congratulating you on your well-deserved promotion. You have earned it, if ever anybody did, and I am sure it will give great pleasure to a large body of your friends all over the Dominion to see your promotion, and services recognised. The same observation will apply to Mr. Tilley. . . .

Ask Lady Tupper to accept my sincere congratulations and best wishes.—Believe me, My dear Sir Charles, Yours sincerely,

Sir Charles Tupper, K.C.M.G., C.B. A. G. Archibald.

18 Queen's Gate, Hyde Park, W.,
May 24, 1879.

Dear Dr. Tupper,—Let me offer you my best congratulations on the honours which this morning's paper announces as conferred on you and other friends. They have been well and worthily earned, and may you live long to enjoy them. . . .

With renewed good wishes.—Believe me, Yours truly,

Sir C. Tupper, K.C.M.G. John Rose.

Conservatives Again in Power

Concurrent biography and history are necessarily excluded from these memoirs, except incidental references to them where, as external sources of influence, they acted upon Dr. Tupper, developing his talents and moulding his life.

From 1868 to 1874 the Government of Great Britain was in the hands of the Liberals, with Mr. Gladstone as Premier. Even before Confederation, a united empire was one of Dr. Tupper's dreams; but when the Union was accomplished, it took even a more prominent place in the vision of this statesman. His speeches were highly seasoned with Imperial sentiment. But there was little to be hoped for from a Cabinet of which John Bright was a member. It fell to the lot of a Liberal Premier, however, to pilot the British Government through a succession of wild and menacing political disturbances. Storms raged on both sides of the Atlantic.

Dr. Tupper's direct intercourse with the British Cabinet, given in earlier chapters, was to him a school in which he studied political questions, both local and international. The disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, the resistance it met with and the bitterness it engendered, confirmed Dr. Tupper in his belief, if, indeed, such confirmation was necessary, that the Canadian Provinces, both before and after Union, were fortunate in having two separate spheres, one for the Church and one for the State. The National Education Bill, of which Mr. Forster was the author and during the discussion of which he made the facetious remark: "We must educate our masters," came five years later than the one Dr. Tupper had carried in the Nova Scotia Legislature. Dr. Tupper followed the discussion of Mr. Forster's Bill in the British Parliament, especially in its conflict with endowed schools and other vested rights, and felt a justifiable complacency in the assurance that the Bill given by him to his native Province was superior to that given

to England under the inspiration and direction of Mr. Forster.

The sensitive relations of England to the Continental Powers made the Franco-Prussian War, from beginning to end, a source of anxiety and danger. The grave question for the Dominion was: How will it affect Canada? This war, so fraught with possibilities, was to Dr. Tupper an object lesson of great importance. At its close, the English Government resolved to withdraw her troops from the colonies and place the responsibility of providing for her own defence on the shoulders of the young Dominion. This, added to Imperial legislation which put an end to securing positions in the army by purchase, and ultimately opened them to Canadian competitors, was another instructive study in Imperialism and a united Empire. But whatever discouragement there may have been in Mr. Gladstone's policy respecting a united Empire, all vanished in 1874 when his Government was falling to pieces over the Bill for the higher education of Ireland, and Mr. Disraeli appealed to the nation in a speech through which ran a distinct Imperial note and a Conservative colonial policy. In one passage he said:

"In my judgment, no Minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial empire, and of responding to those distant sympathies which may become a source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land."

"Toryism now sought three great objects," says Lord Morley in his Life of Gladstone. These were, as Mr. Disraeli said:

"The maintenance of our institutions, the preservation of our Empire, and the condition of the people."

Lord Morley further says:

"The time was at hand when England would have to decide between national and cosmopolitan principles, and the issue was no mean one."

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LADY TUPPER WITH HER DAUGHTER EMMA

From a Daguerreotype

CHAPTER XVII

CONSERVATIVE FISCAL AND RAILWAY POLICIES (1879—80)

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, Sir Leonard S. Tilley and Sir Charles Tupper, in company with Lady Tupper and their son William, went to England. After visiting his daughter Emma, wife of Major-General Cameron, at Bagni de Luca, Sir Charles, leaving Lady Tupper and his son, returned to London and joined his colleagues.

The radical change made in the trade policy of the Dominion by the adoption of the National Policy so affected the commercial relations with Great Britain that an explanation and defence of it was due to the British Cabinet. For this purpose the following was submitted by the three delegates to the Colonial Minister:

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

The Government of Canada are now submitting questions of the greatest moment in regard to the position of British interests in North America and endeavouring to establish the policy of treating these subjects as of Imperial as well as Colonial importance.

On such an occasion it becomes their duty to offer certain remarks on the recent commercial legislation of Canada, and to explain the reasons which have required higher customs and excise duties—the method and design with which they have been imposed—and to indicate the modifications of which this policy is susceptible.

Their views must necessarily be submitted confidentially, as it would be unwise to disturb the manufacturing and trading interests of Canada by the suggestion of changes that, on discussion, may not be considered practicable by the Imperial authorities.

With reference to the augmentation of the customs duties, it is sufficient to direct attention to the fact that a serious and chronic deficiency had taken place in the revenue, and that the engagements

of the country, especially in relation to the development of the North-West Territories and British Columbia, were of a nature that could neither be arrested nor materially diminished; an increase of revenue became consequently imperative, and could only be well obtained through an increase of the customs and excise duties.

Coincident with this state of the revenue, the manufacturing and trading interests of Canada had long suffered grievously from the restrictive policy of the United States, while the agricultural population bitterly complained of the unfair treatment they received from the same nation.

All natural products, such as bread stuffs, lumber, coal, etc., had, with a very brief interval, been admitted free from the United States since the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1865, while all but prohibitive duties had been imposed on these articles when imported from Canada.

Under that treaty Canada enjoyed a very large measure of free trade with the United States from 1865 to 1874. She successfully met the restrictive policy of her neighbours owing to the inflation arising from the war expenditure; but when prices fell, and no new markets opened, Canada experienced the consequence of being only permitted to buy, and unable to sell, while her comparatively open market was eagerly sought as an outlet for the surplus of American fields and factories.

The effect of this policy was not only felt by the Canadian farmers and manufacturers, but it produced a largely increased demand in Canada for American manufactures, and a corresponding decrease in the demand for the manufactures of Great Britain, of which the trade returns of the Dominion furnish undoubted proof.

In 1873 the value of British goods entered for consumption was 68,552,776 dollars, and of United States productions 47,735,678 dollars. In 1878 the value of British goods was reduced to 37,431,180 dollars, and the United States products advanced to 48,631,739 dollars. At the last general election the people of Canada decided by a very large majority that they would no longer consent to trade with the United States on such unequal terms, and it became the imperative duty of the present ministry to give effect to the decision of the country. The administration had, therefore, a three-fold duty to perform in their tariff changes:

1st.—To secure additional revenue to meet the alarming annual deficit;

2nd.—To restore the greatly diminished trade with Great Britain and the West India Islands; and

3rd.—To protect the interests of Canada from the unfair and illiberal policy of the United States.

The Government of Canada are prepared, under arrangements with the Imperial Government, and with the assent of the Canadian Parliament, to give distinct trade advantages to Great Britain, as against foreign countries, and they sought to do so in their arrangement of the present tariff, to a limited extent; but, believing that the Imperial Government were not favourable to direct discriminating duties, the object in view was sought and obtained through a somewhat complex classification of imports.

The policy of Canada towards British manufactures is not, therefore, such as to exclude them from our markets, but points to an arrangement that, if adopted, might give us sufficient for revenue purposes, and at the same time be of infinite advantage to the Empire.

In the foregoing is found the first positive proposal to the British Government for preferential trade.

The delegation from the Canadian Executive had on its hands another important duty—that of obtaining, if possible, assistance from the British Government to build the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The Government was asked to guarantee Dominion bonds to be issued for raising funds for this purpose, and also to consider the appointment of a direct representative of the Dominion Government at the Court of St. James.

The views on this point held by this delegation were urged in a memorandum, from which the following extracts will testify to the ability and skill of its authors:

"Canada has ceased to occupy the position of an ordinary possession of the Crown. She exists in the form of a powerful central Government, having already no less than seven subordinate local executive and legislative systems, soon to be largely augmented by the development of the vast regions lying between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains. Her Central Government is becoming even more responsible than the Imperial Government for the maintenance of international relations towards the United States, a subject which will yearly require greater prudence and care, as the population of the two countries extend along, and mingle across the vast frontier line three thousand miles in length."

"It appears to the Canadian Government eminently desirable to provide for the fullest and most frank interchange of views with Her Majesty's Government, and for the thorough appreciation of the policy of Canada on all points of general interest. Otherwise there appears to be danger of a feeling growing up of indifference, if not of actual antagonism and irritation upon both sides. The idea must be avoided, that the connection of Canada with the British Empire is only temporary and unabiding, instead of being designed to strengthen and confirm the maintenance of British influence and power.

"It is now being found in practice that there are constantly questions arising connected with the administration of affairs in Canada, requiring discussions in a mode and to an extent wholly impracticable through the ordinary channel of correspondence through the Governor-General—and periodical visits have to be made to London for this purpose by important members of the Canadian Government, entailing serious inconvenience. At this moment the following subjects are thus under consideration:

"The Pacific Railway and important collateral subjects—Treaties of Commerce with France and Spain—Esquimalt Graving Dock—Military defence of Canada generally and of British Columbia, more especially, while the Fishery and Commercial clauses of the Washington Treaty may at any moment be reopened by the United States, with many other matters of importance connected with the better organisation of the military front of the Dominion.

"It is manifestly impossible that the views of the Canadian Government on most subjects can be submitted for the intelligent consideration of Her Majesty's Government in any other mode than that of personal communication; and as the subjects themselves relate to different departments of administration, the necessity arises for the absence from their posts at this moment of not less than three most prominent ministers.

"It is further submitted that the very large and rapidly augmenting commerce of Canada, and the increasing extent of her trade with foreign nations, is proving the absolute need of direct negotiation with them for the proper protection of her interests. In the treaties of commerce entered into by England, reference has only been made to their effect on the United Kingdom, and the colonies are excluded from their operation—a result which has been attended with most unfortunate results to Canada, as relates to France. This is, to a certain extent, unavoidable, in consequence of the control of all customs having been granted to Canada, but a necessity has thus arisen for providing separate and distinct trade conventions with all foreign

powers with whom Canada has direct trade. With the differing views held by the Parliament of Canada on such subjects, from those of Her Majesty's Government, there is a manifest difficulty in asking the latter to become responsible for the representations required to be made, and foreign governments find it difficult to understand our present system. The Canadian Government consequently submit that when occasion requires such negotiations to be undertaken, Her Majesty's Government should advise Her Majesty specially to accredit the representation of Canada to the foreign Court, with the resident Minister, or in such other form as would place him in distinctly recognised relation to the foreign Ministers.

"The suggestion is merely asking Her Majesty's Government to establish as a rule the precedent which was created in 1871, when Sir John Macdonald was made a member of the Joint High Commission to Washington, and later, when Sir George Brown was officially associated with Sir Edward Thornton, at the instance of the Canadian Government, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of commerce between Canada and the United States.

"With a view of giving effect to the foregoing policy, the Government of Canada suggest that Her Majesty's Government should consent to receive an official representative from Canada for the purpose of securing the most early and confidential communication of their views on all subjects. And that, when so requested, the proposed Minister should be duly accredited to foreign Courts.

"The dignity of the office, and the advantage of its proper recognition, especially at foreign Courts, appears to require a more expressive title than that of Agent-General; it is therefore suggested that the designation should be Resident Minister, or such other name of equal import as Her Majesty's Government may suggest.

"The Canadian Government attach great importance to this matter, and hope that Her Majesty's Government will see no insuperable difficulty in giving the Canadian representative a diplomatic position at the Court of St. James, and of exerting its influence to obtain the recognition of such a position for him among the *corps diplomatique*. The sooner the Dominion is treated as an auxiliary power, rather than a dependency, the sooner will it assume the responsibilities of the position, including the settlement of its contribution to defence of the Empire whereon and wherever assailed."

The result of the presentation of this memorandum was the creation of the office of Canadian High Commissioner,

and the appointment first of the Hon. A. T. Galt at a salary of $10,000 a year and $4,000 for contingencies. The Imperial Government conceded the private entrée to the High Commissioner.

It became more and more evident as time passed that Sir Charles Tupper had an innate penchant for the pursuit of large political game. The greater the occasion, the more easily he seemed to rise to it. The largest undertakings became light matters in his hands. No one had equal confidence in the ability of Canada to construct, as a single enterprise, a line of railway from ocean to ocean. The fact that such a road was not attempted by the United States until the population of the Republic was about forty millions, to him was no valid reason why four million Canadians could not do the work.

While in England on this mission, Sir Charles decided to purchase 50,000 tons of steel rails. As he believed that asking for tenders for the whole amount would immediately cause a rise in the price, he advertised for only 5,000 tons. When the tenders came in, he accepted the lowest tender and arranged to take ten thousand tons at that price. He then accepted the second lowest tender and bargained to take 10,000 at that price, and so on until he had contracts for the 50,000 tons. The result was that these 50,000 tons of steel rails cost $1,518,000 less than Mr. Mackenzie paid for the same quantity when he was Minister of Public Works. They were purchased at the lowest price ever before known, and one year later would have cost half a million dollars more.

On the return of the delegates to Canada, the Georgian Bay contract was cancelled on the ground that it would involve a large expenditure without a commensurate value to the country.

The Government decided to adopt the Fraser River route for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and put 125 miles under contract from Lake Kamloops to Yale. This was divided

into four sections and let to the lowest tenderers. The Government concurred in these contracts, which were given to Mr. Andrew Onderdonk, an American contractor, who brought letters of introduction to the Bank of Montreal, where he had deposited $500,000. The contract, however, was practically made with D. O. Mills, an American millionaire, early in December.

Sir Charles visited Winnipeg with Mr. Schreiber, who was in charge of the contract from Keewatin to Red River, and went over the work with him.

He was entertained at a banquet in Quebec, and at another in Ottawa, where, in reply to the toast, "The Speedy Union of the Atlantic and the Pacific," he compared, in his inimitably effective manner, the work done on the Canadian Pacific Railway by their predecessors in office with that then being accomplished. The following extract from the speech is of interest:

"Mr. Mackenzie put 113 miles under contract, from Thunder Bay westward to English River, and 112 miles under contract from the Red River eastward to Keewatin. The Pembina Branch was also placed under contract, but that was about all Mr. Mackenzie accomplished. The fact of the matter is, that our opponents committed the country to heavy expenditures without any useful purpose whatever. I, perhaps, cannot better deal with this question than to compare the results of the policy of our predecessors with what has been done since my right honourable friend came into power. He reverted to our former policy of making the lands of the North-West largely contribute to the construction of the railway, without which the lands themselves are comparatively valueless, without imposing that enormous burden upon the country which would arise from the pursuit of the plan of our predecessors, and would cripple us rather than promote our advancement. We have placed under contract the 185 miles necessary to complete the connection between Lake Superior and the Province of Manitoba, and we have brought the line west of Red River to the south of Lake Manitoba, so as to fill up that fertile section with people, and 100 miles of that road are now under construction."

* * * * * *

Parliament was opened on February 12, 1880.

The Speech from the Throne announced that vigorous measures would be adopted to promote the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and that the rigid system of economy adopted in the management of the Intercolonial Railway, without impairing its efficiency, warranted the belief that in the future no serious burden would be incurred by deficits in its operation. The Finance Minister, Sir Leonard Tilley, introduced his Budget, and was severely criticised by Sir R. Cartwright, to whom Sir Charles Tupper replied in a speech which forms the best illustration in his parliamentary addresses of his hew-Agag-in-pieces style of treating an arrogant opponent. Sir Richard Cartwright's record for five years as Financial Secretary had been a conspicuous failure. The wounds he had received from Dr. Tupper's criticisms were not yet healed. Listening to Sir Leonard S. Tilley's first Budget speech gave Sir Richard an opportunity to exercise his talents and skill as critic of another man's Budget. Such was his temperament that it was difficult for him generously to let bygones be bygones, or amiably to accept defeat. The successful crusade, virtually led by Sir Charles Tupper, against the Liberal Government had left unhealed wounds in his spirit. His criticism of Sir Leonard's Budget, therefore, partook largely of caustic, rancorous humour.

To Sir Charles, Sir Richard's assumptions and declarations, so arrogantly made, merited treatment such as he felt himself able to give. He seems to have begun his speech with no intention of meting out gentle dealing to his opponent. This purpose was evidently not changed before the close of his animated address, which calls to mind a characterisation of Sir Charles in such circumstances given by a writer in the Montreal *Gazette:*

"Sir Charles Tupper is one of the foremost men of this country. As a speaker, we know of no one to equal him. In making out his

case, he is clear, logical and electrifying. On his defence he scatters with playful irony or graceful sarcasm the accusations of his opponents; and Heaven help the man by the time he gets through with him. He will require a lot of soothing syrup to restore his nervous system."

There is nothing found in this criticism soothing to the disturbed feelings of the ex-Finance Minister. His Budget speeches were criticised, deficits referred to, and other questions, such as immigration, protection of industries against increased prices, and coal-mining in Canada, thoroughly discussed.

On April 23 Sir Charles made his statement on the Intercolonial Railway, showing that he had dispensed with the services of 400 men, thus saving $200,000. On April 15 he submitted also his annual statement of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Mr. Blake moved an amendment: "To leave out all the words after 'that' and insert the following: 'The public interest requires that the work of constructing the Pacific Railway should be postponed.'" This amendment was defeated—131 to 49.

From the coming into power in England of the Conservatives in 1878, until 1880, when before the fervid oratory of Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign the Tories were swept from power as if by a tornado, the Canadian Cabinet had the support of Downing Street to their Imperialistic policy. But when Disraeli's Government was defeated, the question was asked by Canadian Liberals: What course will Mr. Gladstone take respecting a trunk line across the continent, and the policy of Imperialism precious to Canadian and English Tories? Will he be held in check by the "Little Englanders"?

In the Commons, Sir Charles was reminded of the change of Government in the Old Land; but with his political optimism, he replied:

"I may say to some honourable gentleman, who seemed to think that owing to the defeat of the Beaconsfield Administration, all hope

of this Government obtaining anything from England is gone, that we have no reason to distrust a Liberal Administration any more than a Conservative Administration, and I would ask any person who knows anything of the political principles propounded by gentlemen on this side of the House, whether there is any Liberal party in England, or any man likely to be in a Liberal Cabinet in England—under Mr. Gladstone, Lord Granville, or Lord Hartington—who is more advanced in Liberal principles than the hon. gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. There has no doubt been a great change of parties in England, and if the Conservative party have lost power there, it has been the means of bringing into power an Administration who are no more committed to Liberal principles and a Liberal policy than the hon. gentlemen who sit on this side of the House. . . .

"I am not dismayed at the change. I believe the interests of Canada are just as safe in the hands of Lord Cardwell, as Colonial Minister, as they were in the hands of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. . . .

"It will be seen, therefore, that notwithstanding the fall of the Beaconsfield Administration, there is every prospect of the Government of Canada being sustained and upheld in this great national enterprise."

On May 22 an Order in Council was passed appointing Mr. Sandford Fleming, Consulting Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway and Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway, for the purpose of settling the claims which had arisen in connection with the construction of the latter road.

Mr. Fleming declined these appointments; and Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, who had succeeded him as Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, also resigned his connection with the Intercolonial Railway, and Mr. F. Shanly was appointed Chief Engineer of the Intercolonial Railway for the settlement of the claims. The Toronto *Globe*, the organ of the Opposition, having fiercely assailed Sir Charles Tupper in connection with the contracts which he had let on the Canadian Pacific Railway, Sir Charles requested the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to examine under oath all parties connected with that work—Ministers, officials of every kind, con-

tractors, etc.—and in response the Government appointed Judge Clark, Mr. Samuel Keefer, an able engineer, and Mr. Miall, a skilled accountant, members of the Commission. They carried on an investigation from August 12, 1880, to January 5, 1882. The Secretary, Mr. N. F. Davin, by direction of the Commission, wrote to the editor of the Toronto *Globe,* requesting him to furnish them with the name, or names, of any persons who could substantiate the statements they had made. The answer admitted that he was unable to do so. The evidence gathered by the Commission was published in two large octavo volumes, and laid on the table of the House of Commons. No member of the Opposition ever referred to the evidence thus embodied.

The Conservative Government, after having been in power two years, had not departed essentially from the Mackenzie policy for constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is true that a bolder course had been taken, surveys pushed forward, resolves made to build immediately the road from Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains, and to complete the 185 miles necessary to unite Lake Superior and Winnipeg, and to construct a section of the road from Yale to Kamloops. But what followed after the close of the session of 1880 puts the matter beyond doubt that Sir Charles Tupper had become dissatisfied with both the policy and the progress made in the efforts to connect the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. Ever before his mind was this great essential—a line of rails connecting Vancouver with Nova Scotia. Without it, the most successful union and consolidation of the Dominion was impossible.

In the records of the first bold attempt to span the continent with a railroad, no evidence appears that any single man was its author. Back of it, however, was faith that removes mountains and spans prairies. Whoever was the author of this first dream, one thing is evident, that he kept in mind the fear of overtaxation that rested like a nightmare on the public mind, and would quickly and

violently respond to the partizanship that might summon its assistance. This sentiment left but one alternative—construction of the road by a company. Looking to what was initiated in 1880 and completed in 1886, it would seem that the scheme of 1872 came from the same source as that of 1880. Eight years had elapsed; and what had been accomplished? Surveys had been begun by Mr. Mackenzie for a telegraph line and a wagon road winding around the bases of the ice-topped mountains from the prairies to Vancouver; a part of the line had been constructed from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg; but not even yet was the great expanse of prairie land vitally connected with the east of the Dominion.

Whether or not Dr. Tupper was the originator of the scheme of 1872, to offer a company who would undertake this great work a grant of 50,000,000 acres of land and $30,000,000, is not known. But the resemblance of these two plans, the latter universally known to have been originated by Sir Charles Tupper in 1880, is so striking, characterised as they are by the same boldness, yea, and as it was thought by some at the time, by reckless audacity, that the inference would be that they were both begotten in the brain of the same statesman. Be this as it may, Sir Charles Tupper, after the prorogation of Parliament in 1880, found himself so thoroughly dissatisfied with the policy for uniting the east and west by rail, that with characteristic courage he attempted to end the policy of both the late and the then present Governments, of building the Canadian Pacific Railway by Government contracts.

The following proposal, submitted by Sir Charles to the Cabinet on June 15, 1880, puts the authorship of the new plan beyond doubt:

DEPARTMENT RAILWAYS AND CANALS,
OTTAWA,
June 15, 1880.

MEMORANDUM.

The undersigned has the honour to report that the estimate for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway is $60,000,000.00

and that the total expenditure required to complete the line from Thunder Bay to Nipissing would add $20,000,000.00 more.

That it is extremely desirable to accomplish the whole of the above-mentioned work at as early a date as possible and without involving any such liability as is calculated to alarm the public mind as to any financial embarrassment that might arise therefrom.

That the construction of the line from Red River to Burrard Inlet irrespective of equipment may be safely placed.

From Thunder Bay to Red River at . . .	$16,000,000
„ Kamloops to Yale	8,000,000
„ Yale to Burrard Inlet	3,000,000

That the undersigned has reason to believe that owing to the great interest at present excited in relation to the North-West, the value of land there, and the great success which has attended the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company that it would be quite practicable to obtain the construction of the line from Red River to Kamloops by an expenditure in money of $12,500,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land, a portion of which to be allotted in alternate sections, 20 miles wide on each side of the line and the balance elsewhere—the total cash outlay to secure the construction of the line from Red River to Burrard Inlet would thus be reduced to $39,500,000.

The undersigned has also reason to believe from the best information at his command that a subsidy of $10,000 per mile would secure the construction of the line from Nipissing to Thunder Bay.

The whole original design, therefore, of constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway throughout its entire length within ten years may, he believes, be accomplished by a cash expenditure of $45,500,000 and 25,000,000 acres of land by a company bound to complete the line throughout within ten years and to maintain, equip and operate the whole from Nipissing to Burrard Inlet, leaving 75,000,000 acres of land appropriated by Parliament for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway a considerable portion of which would be in alternate sections along the line of railway, to recoup the Government for the expenditure of $45,500,000.

He, therefore, recommends that authority be given to negotiate with capitalists of undoubted means, and who shall be required to give the most ample guarantees for the construction and operation of the line on such terms as will secure at the same time the rapid settlement of the public lands, and the construction of the work.—Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES TUPPER,
Minister Railways and Canals.

I certify that this report to Council was prepared under my supervision at Sir Charles Tupper's dictation as a basis upon which to negotiate with capitalists for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

COLLINGWOOD SCHREIBER,
Chief Engineer Canadian Pacific Railway.

OTTAWA,
September 30, 1881.

The original plan was in the handwriting of Mr. Tilley, clerk in the Department of Railways and Canals. It was accepted by the Council, and the decision was reached to send Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. J. H. Pope to England, to endeavour to make financial arrangements for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway on the terms of Sir Charles Tupper's proposal.

As the Grand Trunk Railway Company had been the pioneers of railway construction in Canada, Sir Charles Tupper was authorised by his colleagues to submit the proposal of the delegates to Sir Henry Tyler, M.P., President of that company. This he did in the Tea-room of the House of Commons. After Sir Charles had fully detailed the proposal, Sir Henry said: "If you will cut off the portion of the railway from Thunder Bay to Nipissing, I will take up the project; but unless you do that, my shareholders would simply throw the prospectus into the waste-paper basket." Sir Charles replied that Canada could not consent to be for six months without any communication with Manitoba, the North-West and British Columbia, except by a long detour through a foreign country.

After much exertion the delegates succeeded in securing a contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, essentially on the terms proposed by Sir Charles Tupper to the Cabinet. The syndicate was composed of Mr. George Stephen, Mr. R. B. Angus, of Montreal, Mr. McIntyre, of Montreal, Mr. I. T. Kennedy, of New York,

Sir John Rose, of Morton, Rose and Co., of London, James L. Hill, of St. Paul, Min., and Baron Reinach, of Paris.

Their contract was duly signed at Bates' Hotel, Dover Street, London, on October 20, 1880.

The delegates and Mr. A. T. Galt, High Commissioner for Canada in London, were invited to a grand banquet at the Fishmongers' Hall. Sir John Macdonald insisted on Sir Charles Tupper responding for Canada. In complying with the request, Sir Charles corrected the suggestion that the object of the Canadian visitors was to obtain money from England except in the way of securing profitable investment for the construction of railways and the development of the country. He dwelt also upon the advantages Canada offered to emigrants and the importance of emigration as a means of contributing to the solution of some of the difficulties which were the subject of controversy in the country.

Sir Charles and Lady Tupper, after visiting their daughter, Mrs. Cameron, at Newbridge, and paying a visit to Lord and Lady Monck at Bray, returned to Canada on the steamship *Peruvian*. Among the passengers were William Matthew Gray and his wife and daughter, with whom they formed a lifelong friendship.

Immediately on his return, Sir Charles Tupper, at the urgent request of his colleague, the Hon. J. H. Pope, went to the nomination at Brome, where a death vacancy had occurred. In the course of his speech, Sir Charles said :

"When the Ministers went back to England they found that the whole sentiment of the country was changed in reference to Canada ; that people with capital were ready to come to the North-West, and that they could go back to their original policy which they had never wholly abandoned. They had been enabled to make a contract with capitalists representing houses in Great Britain, Germany, France and the United States, that they would have the utmost pride in laying before the assembled Parliament at the earliest period consistent with the public interests of the country. The Government of Sir John A. Macdonald stood in the same position in reference to the policy of

constructing the Canadian Pacific Railway as it did in 1871–2, when its policy was adopted in Parliament, and of which Mr. Mackenzie said that to talk about building the road for fifty million acres of land and thirty million dollars, they might as well talk about doing it for $10.00. They would be in the same position to tell the Parliament that, although only two years in power, the condition of the country was so changed in the estimation of the capitalists of the world that arrangements had been made upon terms which would secure the construction of the Pacific Railway. The policy of the Government had, from the outset, been that the land of the North-West should pay for the construction of the railway; that would be fulfilled, and by using the credit of the Government for raising some of the money needed, and by a comparatively moderate portion of land, the construction of the railway within ten years had been secured, and secured upon terms which, at no distant day, would relieve the people of Canada of any charge, any debt in connection with that great work."

The Conservative was elected for Brome.

Accompanied by Mr. Schreiber, Sir Charles visited Manitoba. He was entertained by Governor Cauchon, who resided in Fort Garry, where in 1869 Sir Charles had an interview with Louis Riel in Council. On his arrival he was received by Captain Scott, M.P., who had defeated Donald Smith, the unseated member from Selkirk. A large number of gentlemen accompanied Captain Scott when he received Sir Charles.

Sir Charles was informed that at 8.30 that evening a banquet was to be given in his honour. It was then 7 o'clock. Every seat in the City Hall was filled, and an address was presented to him.

The day following the banquet, Sir Charles had a long interview with Joseph Ryan, M.P., who represented Portage La Prairie, in reference to the location of the line about eight miles north of that village. He and Mr. Schreiber left for Point Douglas and proceeded easterly, inspecting all the work to that point.

Having fully discussed the question of the line west of Winnipeg, and having arrived at the conclusion that it

would be in the interests of the country to intersect the rising town of Portage La Prairie, he wired Mr. Ryan, M.P., and to avoid any chance of speculation, at the same time he sent the following message to the Mayor of Portage La Prairie :

"After full consideration I have decided to carry the road close to Portage La Prairie, if you guarantee that right of way will not be more expensive."

Sir Charles returned to Winnipeg, and from that city went west to Portage La Prairie, where another address was presented and a banquet given.

Mr. Brydges, formerly Superintendent of the Intercolonial Railway, was present as Commissioner of the Hudson's Bay Company. He fully endorsed Sir Charles's action in changing the location of the line to the south of Lake Manitoba and of bringing it to Portage La Prairie.

On Sir Charles's return to Winnipeg, a second banquet was given to him by the Conservative Club and the Working Men's Liberal-Conservative Union. The largest hall in Winnipeg was quite inadequate to hold the people who wished to take part in it.

After returning to Ottawa, Sir Charles, with Mr. Schreiber, Mr. Pottinger and Mr. Peter Archibald, inspected the Intercolonial Railway in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.

On November 24 Sir Charles visited Windsor, Nova Scotia. The reception accorded him in this old town in the East was equally enthusiastic with that in the North-West.

The contract for the Canadian Pacific Railway being fully arranged and signed by the members of the syndicate and Sir Charles, as Minister of Railways, Parliament was summoned to meet on December 9, 1880. The day before, the members of the party were invited to meet the Government in the Rail-

way Committee Room. Sir Charles laid the contract before them, explained its provisions, and invited the members to state their opinions in the fullest and most unreserved manner. Several of them took him at his word.

They said the effect of the contract would be to ruin the country, that the obligations involved would so destroy the credit of Canada as to make it impossible to obtain money for any other purpose. That it would ruin the party because the country would be alarmed at the onerous character of the undertaking, and that the members of the syndicate were either Americans or Annexationists or Liberals or identified with the United States interests as connected with the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway.

Sir Charles replied by saying that the confidence in British North America was only on paper unless means were adopted to give intercommunication; that we possessed a country with immense resources which would by this railway become developed and made known to the world, and that our credit would thus be enhanced instead of injured. He admitted that there was much force in the criticisms as to the political character of the members of the syndicate; but he contended that the Americans would draw support from the United States capitalists; that there would be great advantage to be derived from that experience which some of them had gained in prairie railway construction, and that whatever annexationist proclivities they might have had, after signing the contract they could not help becoming good Canadians, and that before that contract was carried in the House of Commons, Mr. Blake would make them all strong supporters of the present Government.

Sir Charles added that instead of the country becoming alarmed he believed a national sentiment would be inspired, and that at the next election they would make this contract the strongest plank in their platform.

The bulk of the party were satisfied, and the others decided to await events.

Conservative Fiscal and Railway Policies

On December 13, Sir Charles Tupper moved :

"That the House do go into Committee of the Whole on Tuesday next to consider the following resolutions :

"1st.—That it is expedient to grant and appropriate twenty-five millions of dollars according to the terms of the contract for the Canadian Pacific Railway transmitted to this House by His Excellency the Governor-General by his message dated December 10.

"2nd.—That it is expedient to grant and appropriate twenty-five million acres of land in the North-West Territories according to the terms of the said contract so transmitted as aforesaid."

Mr. Blake moved an amendment to defer going into Committee until January 5. The amendment was negatived, yeas 51, nays 104. On December 14 Sir Charles Tupper addressed the House on the resolutions which he had submitted the previous day, and on the 23rd the House adjourned.

As Minister of Railways it fell to the lot of Sir Charles Tupper to give the opening speech, which occupied two and a half hours. In a review of the policy of the Opposition in railway construction, he was able to show that they had adopted the plan of building by a company. Even more than this. A motion made by Mr. Dorion in 1872, and supported by the Liberal party, stipulated that the Government, which had in its Bill provided that the road should be built by either Government or company, should build it by company and "in no other way." In fact, the Government had attempted to form a company to construct the road, and failing this had proceeded to build directly by the Government. Grants of land and many subsidies, equal to any used by the Conservatives, had been voted by Parliament to the Liberals when in power, and as great a length of time had been fixed for the construction of the road, as was stipulated in the contract then before the House. Mr. Mackenzie had agreed, in the Carnarvon settlement, to complete the road by 1890, and the present contract, beginning at a much later date, stipulated to have it completed by 1891.

By detailed and ample quotations from the speeches of Mackenzie, Blake and others, Sir Charles made a net intended to catch the Opposition, leaders and followers, and compel them to support the contract then before the House. But no political net of this kind was ever constructed in which party politicians could not find meshes through which they might easily escape. So it was in this case.

The conclusion of Sir Charles Tupper's speech was a fitting peroration to the inspired, grand effort he had made :

" I am glad to know that if ever there was a measure presented for the consideration of this House, worthy and likely to receive its hearty adoption, it is the measure I have the honour of submitting for its consideration. I have the satisfaction of knowing that throughout this intelligent country every man breathed more freely when he learned that the great, enormous undertaking of constructing and operating the railway was to be lifted from the shoulders of the Government, and the liability the country were going to incur was to be brought within, not over, the limit, which in its present financial condition it is prepared to meet ; within such limits that the proceeds from the sale of the land to be granted by Parliament for the construction of the line, would wipe out all liabilities at no distant day. But this is the slightest consideration in reference to this question. It is a fact that under the proposals now submitted for the Parliament to consider, this country is going to secure the construction and operation of the gigantic work which is to give new life and vitality to every section of this Dominion. No greater responsibility rests upon any body of men in this Dominion than rests upon the Government of Canada, placed as it is in a position to deal with the enormous work of the development of such a country as Providence has given us ; and I say we should be traitors to ourselves and to our children if we should hesitate to secure on terms such as we have the pleasure of submitting to Parliament the construction of this work, which is going to develop all the enormous resources of the North-West, and to pour into that country a tide of population which will be a tower of strength to every part of Canada, a tide of industrious and intelligent men who will not only produce national as well as individual wealth in that section of the Dominion, but will create such a demand for the supplies which must come from the older Provinces as will give new life and vitality to every industry in which those Provinces are

engaged. . . . I say I was in hope, now that we have abandoned it as a Government work and it is placed on a commercial foundation, that those gentlemen could, without loss of party prestige, unite with us on this great question, and in giving to this Syndicate who are charged with this important and onerous undertaking, that fair, handsome and generous support that men engaged in a great national work in any country are entitled to receive at the hands not only of the Government of the country, but of every patriotic member of Parliament. Sir, I say I have been disappointed, but I hope upon future reflection, at no distant day, when the results of this measure which we are now submitting for the approval of Parliament and which I trust and confidently expect will obtain the sanction of this House, will be such as to compel these gentlemen, openly and candidly to admit that in taking the course which we have followed we have done what is calculated to promote the best interests of the country and that it has been attended with success exceeding our most sanguine expectations. I can only say, in conclusion, after some five and twenty years of public life I shall feel it the greatest source of pleasure that the quarter of a century has afforded me, as I am satisfied that my right hon. friend beside me will feel that this crowns the success of his public life, that while Premier of this country his Government were able to carry through Parliament a measure of such inestimable value to the progress of Canada ; so I can feel, if I have no other bequest to leave to my children after me, the proudest legacy which I would desire to leave was the record that I was able to take an active part in the promotion of this great measure by which, I believe, Canada will receive an impetus that will make it a great and powerful country at no distant date."

The oration by which Parliament and the country learned the terms of the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate was an argument of fact and logic marshalled in a masterly manner, and suited to carry conviction to every member of the House of Commons, irrespective of his political relations, that at last there was a path of light through the darkness hitherto obscuring the future of the young Dominion. But, like many another powerful and convincing oration, instead of meeting with a hearty reception it confronted a most unqualified opposition, led by Edward Blake and Sir Richard Cartwright. Mr. Mackenzie was ill at the time.

In replying, Mr. Blake said:

"If I did not believe as I do in my heart and conscience believe, that the proposal of the Administration brought down to-day is not only fraught with great danger but certain to prove disastrous to the future of this country, which it is principally designed to serve, as they say, I should be glad to give it my support, and it is because I entertain the conviction that the measure is not merely dangerous, but ruinous, that I oppose it at the very outset. . . . .

"The hon. Minister (Sir Charles Tupper), speaking of his own share in this great work, hoped he would be able to leave it as a legacy to his children. I hope he will; and that will be a substantial legacy—one that will enable them, in all time to come, to look back with complacency on this great work of the hon. gentleman's life. . . ."

The following paragraph closed Mr. Blake's speech:

"A contract might have been presented containing altogether other terms which might have been worthy of our adoption. This contract is worthy, in my opinion, only our rejection. I shall not venture to hope that this House will reject it, but I do not doubt that an indignant country, although you will not give it time now to raise its voice, will take the earliest opportunity to inflict a summary penalty upon those persons, offenders for the second time, who have once betrayed when entrusted with power their country's honour, and having been forgiven, have now taken advantage of the opportunity which a too confiding people conferred upon them to betray in the same transaction her most vital and material interests."

Sir Richard Cartwright followed with a speech scintillating with classic and caustic diction, in the course of which he said he considered the Bill "simply as a monument of folly."

The allusions made by Mr. Blake and Sir Richard Cartwright to public sentiment were not wholly imaginary. Doubts and fears were privately expressed in Halifax by leading men who supported the Government. They were oppressed with the fear that the party would break down under the financial load imposed upon it. Knowing the temper of the public in this respect, Mr. Blake resolved to make an appeal to it which, it was generally believed, would so act upon Parliament as to compel the Govern-

ment to abandon its enterprise. Accordingly, meetings were appointed at the instance of Mr. Blake during the Christmas holidays.

Sir Charles Tupper then wrote to Mr. Blake saying he thought it would be more satisfactory to the public to hear both sides of the question, and proposed to attend these meetings if Mr. Blake would give him half the time. Mr. Blake replied declining on the ground that he would require the whole of the time for his own statement of the case.

Sir Charles at once authorised the friends of the Government to give notice of meetings at the same places on the night following Mr. Blake's meetings.

After addressing large gatherings in Toronto and London, Sir Charles completed his programme by speaking before a great meeting in Montreal in reply to Mr. Blake's address a few evenings previous. The Queen's Hall was crowded to the doors. The Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, M.P., solicitor of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, who was a resident of Montreal, after watching the proceedings, said he could not have believed that such an effect could be produced by one speech. He estimated by the cheers and counter-cheers that when Sir Charles commenced to speak, one-third of the meeting were friends of the Government, one-third were opponents, and one-third undecided. As the speech went on, the change was evident until the undecided were all in favour of the contract and the opponents silenced. The meeting closed with a resolution proposed by a number of leading citizens approving of the contract and thanking Sir Charles for his address, which was carried with great enthusiasm. From that hour all doubt in the mind of Sir Charles respecting public sentiment was at an end.

After the recess, which began on December 23, the House met on January 4, 1881. The debate was resumed, and on the morning of the 13th, on division, the resolutions were carried through their first reading. Mr. Blake asked Sir Charles whether he would at once lay on the table com-

munications which he understood had been received that day by the Minister of Railways, containing certain vouchers by banks for the payment of $1,300,000 in the name of Sir William P. Howland in connection with the proposal of the new syndicate.

Sir Charles replied that he "would lay on the table to-morrow all papers that might reach him up to the meeting of the House." This promise was fulfilled on the 18th, when Sir Charles laid on the table the offer of another syndicate for a new contract.

Before this time, Mr. Blake, having yielded to what was popularly known as "the Blake section" of the Liberal party, was induced to supersede Mr. Mackenzie as leader of the Opposition. The justification for this extraordinary occurrence in the Liberal party was keenly felt by Mr. Blake. His integrity was deep based and firmly fixed, four square to every wind that blew. On him rested the burden of proving the right and wisdom of the change in leadership. He therefore bowed himself to this task. But, as in the case of Edmund Burke, the gift of the political leader was not found among his many and great endowments. In him, the new syndicate had a distinguished advocate. In his attempts to block the Government's contract, by one originating in the Liberal party, he sought to work upon the fears of the Conservatives in the House and further to inflame the zeal of his own party.

The conditions of the new offer gave the Liberal party a fresh impulse. At the conclusion of a long speech, in which the new offer was compared with the contract under consideration, Mr. Blake said:

"That in order that the feelings of this House may be tested and its opinion upon the state of things as we present it, I move an amendment, that the said resolutions be not now read a second time; but that it be resolved: . . ."

Here follows a condensed synopsis of the history and stipulations of the bargain with the Canadian Pacific Rail-

way Syndicate and the new offer before the House. The principal difference of the new offer was:

"That on the 14th of January instant, only five weeks after the said new conditions were made public, an offer, which is now on the Table, was made to the Government of Canada by capitalists of high standing and ample means, credit and business ability, comprising Sir W. P. Howland, H. H. Cook, A. R. MacMaster, Wm. Hendrie, John Stuart, John P. Proctor, P. S. Stephenson, John Walker, D. MacFie, Peleg Howland, A. T. Wood, Allan Gilmour, J. Carruthers, K. Chisholm, A. W. Ross, G. A. Cox, P. Larkin, W. D. Lovitt, Barnet and McKay, James McLaren and Alexander Gibson; to complete those parts of the railway to be built by the contractors and to equip, maintain and work the whole railway from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean, and to perform all the obligations undertaken by the contractors on terms less onerous to the country in the following respects,"

which, summarised, were—instead of 25,000,000 acres of land and $25,000,000, the new offer was 22,000,000 each of land and money. This was worked out in details numbering eleven sections.

The debate continued from January 18 to 25, when the amendment was defeated, 140 to 54.

But this did not terminate the contest in the Commons. No fewer than twenty-three amendments were moved, each of which was voted down by a majority about the same as that by which Mr. Blake's was rejected.

On January 31, after the defeat of additional amendments moved by Mr. Blake and Mr. Bunster, Sir Charles Tupper's motion for the second reading of the Canadian Pacific Railway Bill was, on division, agreed to by 106 for and 46 against. After fighting its way through twenty-five amendments, sustained by torrents of oratory, the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate contract, on February 1, received the sanction of the Commons by passing its third reading by a vote of 128 to 49.

Canada's future greatness, Canada's uninterrupted prosperity and expansion into national dimensions were deter-

mined and assured when the National Policy and the Bill for the Canadian Pacific Railway were sustained by overwhelming majorities in the Parliament of the Dominion. When Sir Charles said in the early stage of the debate that he would leave the part he had taken in initiating and carrying into effect the contract for building the Canadian Pacific Railway as a legacy to his children, Sir Richard Cartwright replied: "I pity the children." But he lived to see the day when he could congratulate the children.

On January 19 Sir Charles received a telegram saying his father had died after a few days' illness. Although in the eighty-seventh year of his age and the sixty-fourth of his ministry, he had retained the full use of his faculties until the end. Knowing the important and pressing duties devolving upon his son in Parliament, he had expressed a wish that he should not desert them. Sir John Macdonald urged Sir Charles to remain at his post, as his presence was indispensable. Mr. Blake kindly wrote to Sir Charles expressing his sympathy and offering to make any arrangement he desired as to the debate. Sir Charles thanked him warmly, but decided to remain at his post. Lady Tupper, who was joined by her son, Charles Hibbert, at Amherst, went to the funeral held at Tremont, in the Annapolis Valley.[1]

[1] As the Rev. Dr. Tupper for a number of years was my beloved pastor, I feel constrained to add my testimony to the excellences of this man of God.

The Rev. Dr Tupper was called to the pastorate of a city church, but finding it detrimental to his health, he returned to the country, where his churches, the last of which he served for thirty years, was spread over a broad extent of country. By means of persevering industry and careful order he visited every family and knew personally every member of his flock. No time was spent idly by him. He took no holidays, except to visit friends in distant places, but in these visits his labours as a minister of the Gospel were continued. By ceaseless industry he learned thirteen languages. His memory was of immense capacity and rigidly tenacious. On my asking his opinion of any difficult passage either in the Old or New Testament, he would, offhand, give me the views of leading commentators, some of which, perhaps, he had not read for thirty or forty years, and then modestly give his own opinion.

There now comes to me an illustration of his economy of time. On leaving home for college on one occasion in June, I hesitated on account of the early hour to call for a book he had offered me. In response to a gentle knock the door was quietly opened, and he bade me good morning in a whisper. Mrs. Tupper was ill at the time. I saw by the open books on his table that he was engaged in the study of an Eastern language at that early hour.

His courage never failed him. After he had passed his eightieth year, on hearing that a man in a distant lumber camp had met with an accident and was in a dangerous condition, he at once set out to visit him ; but, on account of deep snowdrifts on the mountain slope, he was obliged to turn back. However, on the following day he renewed the effort and succeeded in reaching the camp and ministering to the wounded man.

Were I called on to name a man who combined in himself most of the elements of true greatness, I know of no one whom I should name before the Rev. Charles Tupper, D.D. Augustine's three essentials of religion—humility, humility, humility—ever characterised him.

In founding schools for higher education, in advocating popular education, in originating and sustaining the temperance movement in the Maritime Provinces ; indeed, in advocating and helping every enterprise for the betterment of the people, the Rev. Dr. Tupper was throughout his long and useful life both a zealous leader and helper. For brief periods he was principal of two Academies. He helped in establishing a religious magazine of which he was editor for a number of years. He wrote extensively for the Press. But all other labour was with him subordinate to the preaching of the Gospel. He inherited the excellences without the faults of his Puritan ancestors.

He frequently indulged in quiet humour. On one occasion, when congratulated on the honours which had come to his son, he replied, " It reminds me of a story of a woman whose son had been promoted to the rank of corporal in the army. On going into the village church she saw the congregation rise for singing, and thinking they rose to do her honour because of the promotion of her son, she raised her hand and said, " Sit down, friends ; I feel just as I did before."—E. M. S.

CHAPTER XVIII

SIGNIFICANT BY-ELECTIONS AND A VISIT TO THE WEST (1881)

ON February 12, 1881, Sir Charles was taken very ill with an attack of bronchitis. This was followed by a tightness around the head which rendered him unequal to any work. He struggled on without any material improvement until early in March, when after a consultation with Sir John Macdonald it was decided that he should go to London and consult Sir Andrew Clark. On March 9, Sir Charles and Lady Tupper left for England. His journal contains this record:

"After careful examination, Sir Andrew Clark told me that I had suppressed gout. I replied that I could hardly believe it, as I had been a very abstemious man and my father had been still more so. A curious result followed. Sir Andrew gave me a prescription with a syrup of hypophosphates as one of the ingredients. I took it to three druggists, who said they had Fellows' Syrup but not the one prescribed. I therefore went to bed without having the prescription made up. When I awoke the next morning my hand was so swollen that I could not put on my glove, and my feet and legs so tender up to the knees that I could hardly walk. But the constriction about the head was gone and my brain was as clear as ever. I adopted the severe regimen prescribed, and steadily improved. We visited our daughter in Ireland, and after some time Sir Andrew advised a change to Switzerland. I asked him if British Columbia would not do as well, where I had duties to perform. Sir Andrew concurred.

"Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Gray, who then resided at

Blackheath, invited us to visit them. Sir Alexander Galt requested me to go with him to the Monetary Conference at Paris, and I consented. I left my wife at Mr. Gray's in perfect health. When in Paris, Sir Alexander Galt and I were invited to dine with the President, and accepted. We were to meet Gambetta. The night before the dinner I dreamed that I saw Mrs. Gray, who told me that Lady Tupper was very ill. I wrote saying that I was obliged to return to England at once, and excused myself for not being able to attend the dinner. I took the first train to London. Hurrying to Blackheath, I found that my wife was better but that our friends had been much alarmed by a croupy attack which had caused her much difficulty in breathing. This was undoubtedly a case of telepathy."

The health of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir Charles Tupper and J. C. Pope was so broken down that it was thought active labour for them in the next election would be impossible. The Opposition hoped to win a majority in Ontario, and perhaps in the Maritime Provinces. In the subjoined letters, in which justification for the foregoing statements may be found, is also an estimate of the talent and skill of Sir Charles Tupper. Only one beside Sir Charles, in Sir John's opinion, could do anything in the most difficult work of reconstructing the Cabinet, a matter then pressing for attention. Sir Charles's loss of health is easily accounted for. His plans and labours preceding the defeat of the late Government; his work for the two years following the coming into power of the Conservatives, especially the responsibility he carried in getting the Canadian Pacific Railway contract through Parliament, were sufficient to undermine the firmest constitution and break down the most robust health. It certainly detracts from the romance of power and political leadership to see Sir John A. Macdonald still toiling on while under sentence of death by his family physician.

OTTAWA,
March 21, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I sincerely hope that you have had a good beneficial voyage. We shall expect news of your safe arrival to-morrow or next day.

Parliament prorogues to-day after a most successful session. But we must not lie upon our oars. The Opposition are going to agitate the country on the C. P. R. They have printed and distributed literally tons of pamphlets containing their twenty-five resolutions and speeches. I hope by midsummer you will be back with renewed health and strength, and we must organise for 1883—but you must not come back a moment sooner than Andrew Clark says you should.

We had last week a parting caucus. It was a most enthusiastic one, and I talked to them like a Dutch uncle about working in their counties. They passed a unanimous resolution of thanks for your services and sympathy for your illness which will be sent you in due course. We have kept Charlevoix. Two Conservatives ran—Cimon was elected. He has served under me before. We have won Bellechasse from the Grits. Larne, you may remember, was unseated and disqualified. Our friend Amyot, after several defeats, has at last carried the county. J. C. Pope is not well. I fear his malady is increasing, and that we must make up our minds to part with him. I shall do nothing in such matters until you return.

With kind regards to Lady Tupper and the Camerons,—Believe me, my dear Tupper, Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

OTTAWA,
April 11, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—I was delighted to get your telegram stating that you were much better. As we had heard nothing from you, we were beginning to be very anxious. I expect your promised letter to-morrow or next day. I have been very unwell—I may say ill for the last fortnight. There was no ascertainable cause for it—but suddenly I broke down—pulse at 49, and great pain and disturbance in liver and bowels. Grant was very much alarmed, but here I am, slowly, but, I think, certainly, recovering.

I must, I fear, go away somewhere as soon as the weather becomes warmer. I enclose you a letter from Archibald which I have merely acknowledged.

We must await your return before filling the place. Macdonald is now at Halifax, and writes that we must wait for you. It seems to

me Archibald has had enough. Gladstone's emigration policy is, I believe, highly satisfactory.

With kind regards for Lady Tupper and the Camerons,—Believe me, Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

OTTAWA,
April 21, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—You will have gone, I fancy, to the Monetary Conference at Paris. I don't anticipate any results from the meeting —but in the meanwhile it does no harm for Canada to be represented there. We all think here that Canada should not in any way be committed to bi-metallism. We should rest on our oars quietly and watch the effect of the two systems in different countries.

I have been very unwell since I wrote last. Confined to the house and almost to the sofa—strength gone and troubled with continued pain in the stomach and bowels. Grant is afraid of a cancerous affection of the stomach, and has, in fact, told me that I had better put my affairs in order. I don't place the utmost reliance on his diagnosis. You know I have no reason to do so. Still he may be right, and I am preparing accordingly.

My colleagues, *en masse*, insist on my crossing the sea and I propose crossing in the middle of May. I should like you to be out before I sail, as something must be done to reorganise the party. None of my colleagues except yourself and McPherson have an idea of managing that. Of course I don't include Quebec, which is well in hand. The Grits are making desperate attempts to capture Ontario and the Maritimes, and are very jubilant, as you and I and J. C. Pope are, they believe, all broken down.

If you and I are able to hold on and the syndicate does its work well, we can carry the country. Otherwise, it is a blue outlook.

As to myself, my remaining ambition is to see that our policy is not reversed, and that the N. P. and the C. P. R. are safe from 1883 to 1888. —Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

His health was so far restored that after receiving the foregoing letters Sir Charles decided to return to Canada. On arriving home, he learned that Sir William Young, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, had resigned. This, as will be seen by a letter from Sir John, created a difficulty for the Cabinet :

OTTAWA,
May 16, 1881.

MY DEAR TUPPER,—On consideration, I am greatly alarmed at the chance of Pictou being lost. If so, I think we may as well hang up our fiddles.

Ontario is just on the balance, and the Government manufacturers are making terms with Blake. With Carlton lost in New Brunswick, and Pictou (a coal constituency) lost too, the stampede will be tremendous, and the opinion fixed in the country that we are doomed. The falling house will be deserted. Now, why should all this happen?

Sir William Young will withdraw his resignation if promised to be made Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1883, and Macdonald can remain until just before the general election. The Order in Council accepting the resignation can be cancelled.

This, in my opinion, is all important.—In haste, Yours sincerely,

JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Sir Charles proposed that the Hon. James Macdonald, then Minister of Justice, should be appointed Chief Justice in place of Sir William Young; but Sir John argued that as the Government had lost one seat in Ontario and one in New Brunswick, it would be fatal to lose one in Nova Scotia, which would likely be the case if Pictou should be opened by the appointment of Mr. Macdonald. But Sir Charles knew the political conditions, possibilities and certainties in his native Province better than any man in Ontario could know them. He resolved to take the bold course. Instead of opening one county in Nova Scotia, he would open two. The plan he suggested was that the Hon. A. W. McLelan should resign his seat in the Senate and run for Colchester in place of Mr. McKay, then representing that county, who could be appointed in place of Mr. McLelan to the Senate. Mr. Macdonald, by this arrangement, would get the appointment to which he was entitled, and Sir Charles would have an old Liberal as his Nova Scotia colleague. Moreover, this arrangement would perpetuate the union of both political parties for Nova Scotia. So confident was Sir Charles of the

success of his plan that he offered to hold himself responsible for the result. Seeing this, Sir John acquiesced.

A Cabinet meeting was held in Quebec at which James Macdonald was appointed Chief Justice and A. W. McLelan President of the Council. Immediately after this, yielding to the urgent request of his Cabinet colleagues, Sir John left for England to consult Sir Andrew Clark, and under his direction to take a prolonged holiday in pursuit of health. He left the execution of the changes, so far as the appeals to the vacated constituencies were concerned, to the author of the new arrangement.

Sir Charles's sphere of labour was in Nova Scotia. He went first to Truro, then to Halifax, and finally to Pictou, arranging and putting in order his forces for the coming contest. He had sufficient discernment to know that it would be a hot one. He well knew that Sir John had good grounds for sounding the note of alarm found in his letters. The representative Liberals in Nova Scotia shared in the purpose of Blake, Cartwright and others. If his plan should fail, the certain result had already been predicted by Sir John: "We might as well hang up our fiddles."

Mr. John McDougald was selected as the Conservative candidate for Pictou. June 11 was fixed for the nomination, and the polling for the 18th. Mr. McDougald was opposed by Mr. Carmichael, a wealthy shipbuilder and a former member. He had been defeated in 1878 by a small majority. The Hon. A. G. Jones, of Halifax, late Minister of Militia, came to the assistance of Mr. Carmichael. The battle opened at River John on June 6. Sir Charles spoke for an hour. He was followed by Mr. Jones. Mr. McDougald came after Mr. Jones, and was followed by Mr. Carmichael. From Pictou Mr. Jones went to Colchester to oppose Mr. McLelan. Sir Charles continued his labours in Pictou county. A meeting was held at Barney, where both Sir Charles and the candidates spoke. Mr. Carmichael then

stated that ex-Speaker T. Anglin would meet Sir Charles at Pictou on nomination day. This announcement was made good. On that day the candidates, Sir Charles and Mr. Anglin, made their appeals to the people. At another meeting held at New Glasgow the same speakers were heard. Sir Charles then left for Rimouski, where he went to meet Lady Tupper on her return from England.

The result in Pictou was a majority for Mr. McDougald of 223. Mr. McLelan's majority in Colchester was 443.

These inspiring results were cabled by Sir Charles to Sir John A. Macdonald. The clouds gathering ominously in the Liberal-Conservative sky began to disperse as a result of these elections. The signs of the times seen pointing in the direction of success for the Opposition changed as suddenly as a weather-cock.

Following the victories in Colchester and Pictou, Sir Charles held a series of political meetings in New Brunswick. The *Moncton Times* made it known that the train on which Sir Charles was coming would leave Amherst at ten o'clock, reach Moncton at noon, and leave immediately for St. John. Ovations awaited Sir Charles at every station. He was met at St. John by Sir S. L. Tilley. When they entered the carriage at the station,

"thousands of voices raised deafening cheers. Dorchester Street was one great mass of moving humanity, the crowd being so dense that many boys and girls on the sidewalks were in great danger of being crushed. All along the route handkerchiefs waved from the windows. At the corner of Dorchester and Union Streets the horses were taken from the barouche containing Sir Charles and Sir Leonard, and their enthusiastic admirers caught up the tongue and drew them along with a grand rush, amid the cheers of the crowd. Arriving in front of the Royal, there was a great display of handkerchiefs from the many windows in the opposing structures in that vicinity, and the crowd set up a mighty cheer. Sir Charles and party entered the hotel, and shortly afterwards there were loud calls for 'Tupper,' which Sir Charles had to satisfy with a speech from the balcony of the hotel."

By-Elections and a Visit to the West

It seems that Mr. Blake, in addressing Maritime Province audiences, made the National Policy, the contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate, the debt and expenditure of the Dominion, his objects of attack, and his opposition to them the grounds for being returned to power.

Sir Charles's first meeting in St. John was held on Saturday evening. On Monday evening another great meeting was held in the Exhibition Building. After an able speech from Sir Leonard Tilley, amid the wildest enthusiasm Sir Charles came to the front, and in the course of a breezy speech dealt in the following drastic manner with his chief opponent:

"A great man—the greatest man of them all—of the Liberal side has invaded the Maritime Provinces, and has thrown down the gauntlet to us to discuss the great questions of the day. We take it up, rejoicing to be able to have a chance to present the matter fairly before you, that you may see which are best entitled to the confidence of free and intelligent people. I am here this evening to challenge anyone to say that the most sanguine predictions of that early time have not been more than fulfilled by the results. Canada has been lifted from her position of comparative insignificance into a grandeur and prosperity, which is commanding the attention of every part of the civilized world. What has been accomplished? In 1868 the public records show the imports to have been $57,000,000. In 1880 they had risen to $86,000,000, and the exports increased from 47 to 87 millions. The bank record shows that bank capital had increased from 30 to 60 millions, circulation from 8 to 20 millions, assets from 71 to 181 millions; deposits in savings bank, from $1,422,000 to $11,520,000. Railway earnings increased from 11 to 23½ millions; the post office revenue from $1,000,000 to $1,648,000; and the miles of railway from 2,522 to 6,891, and the post office letter service from 18 to 46 million letters, as some evidence of the grand stride which this Canada of ours has been taking toward national prosperity, which has resulted from the Union of these once insignificant provinces. Turning around, I ask myself who is this great Goliath who has come down to fight the armies of Israel? Has he a lot or part in this noble structure which we have reared up to our admiration and to the interest of all nations? I ask him to show me one brick he has contributed to the structure. . . .

"How did the question of revenue stand when we handed over the

reins of power? Never, I am convinced, did a government hand over its effects in a more prosperous state than ours when we retired. In the seven years we were in power we rolled up a surplus of $14,000,000 or $2,000,000 per year. When we found as now, that our income was more than we required, we gave to the people tea and coffee free of duty, thus lifting from their burdens $1,200,000 per year, besides $800,000 in other removed taxations or $2,000,000 in all. Yet Mr. Blake is anxious to try conclusions. The conclusions, I can tell him, have been tried already. The only thing now is the record, and with reference to this, I am confident, able as he undoubtedly is, that he will have to talk a long while to turn the tables against us. The first thing the Mackenzie Government did when they got in power was to ask for $3,000,000 additional taxation. Happily they went out of power in 1878. Had they stayed in power until the first of July, 1879, they would have had to explain away a deficit of $7,000,000. Why didn't Mr. Blake and his friends, who clamour so loudly for a readjustment of the tariff, readjust it then? No, but the humiliating confession they had to make to you, in the person of the Finance Minister himself, was that they had gone to the limit of indirect taxation and that the only means they saw of running the country was to lay on a tax direct. And yet my friend Mr. Blake comes down here to ask that he be given a chance to readjust the tariff. . . .

"In the same hour that the Mackenzie Government asked for $3,000,000 additional taxes they undertook the construction of the railway to the West as a public work. When we had the great North-West brought in and Canada united with British Columbia, we felt it our duty to bind the Provinces together by an iron band extending from ocean to ocean, because we had money to do it with. But we did not go recklessly into the great work. Our policy from the first was caution in the expenditure of public moneys. Construction of the road, we thought, was warranted by the magnificent great North-West being opened up, and we felt that we could make the lands pay for the railway. And here let me say with respect to Mr. Blake's charge upon our change of policy, that I know nothing the public should watch so close as changes in the policy of public men. The Grits said we could not bear the expense of building the road, but we said all we wanted was $30,000,000 and 50,000,000 acres of land. Well we tried it, but we were hounded from door to door in the markets of the world to obstruct our negotiations. The company fell and we fell with them. The Grits washed their hands of the whole affair, but when they got into power they startled the country with the announcement that they had decided to build the

railway from end to end as a Government work, with the avowed intention of levying upon you for taxes to meet the interest of the money borrowed. Mr. Blake expressed himself opposed to taxation, yet there was on record his bid for $3,000,000 for the construction of the railway; nay, more I say, when they had run up a deficit of $7,000,000 in four years, he gives the people of this country an evidence of the treachery of his memory when he said in his recent visit that he was opposed to building the road if it was to increase taxation. . . .

"When we returned to power we found ourselves face to face with the construction of this railway, that contracts had been let for the building of the road between Lake Superior and Red River, together with the Georgian Bay Branch and Pembina Branch that required $22,000,000 to make them useful—most of which was of no more value to Canada than of money thrown over the wharf. The only thing was to go on and do the best we could. We came back to our original plans then, and said that the lands of the North-West should pay for the work, as we were not willing that the burden should be placed on the shoulders of the older provinces. I told them when I came down to Parliament that 100,000,000 acres were required. What did Mr. Blake and his followers do? Did they patriotically assist us in the fulfilment of what they had undertaken? No. Their speeches will show that they at once claimed the 100,000,000 acres of land could not contribute to the railway, because it would cost their value to settle them. So potent was Mr. Blake's disparagement of the North-West that the astute land agents of the United States seized upon his speeches, embellished them with a portrait of himself, to show to the world, on high authority, that the western lands of Canada were poor and would not compare with those south of the line. Our opponents predicted ruin to the country as the result of the National Policy, and said England would be so exasperated that our stock would have no show in the market. So far from that, it has gone up from Sir Richard Cartwright's 10 per cent. below par to 4 or 5 per cent. above. Mr. Blake admits that there are 200,000,000 acres of the finest land in the world in the west, and yet in our endeavouring to bring hardy sons from the old country thither he said they were exchanging the rod for the scorpion. . . .

"I say if ever there was a Government that stood high in the questions of revenue and expenditure, fiscal policy and railway policy, and that can afford to challenge the inspection of the people, it is the present one. You have been disappointed, it is said, in the eloquence of Mr. Blake. I think it unreasonable that you should expect him

to be eloquent if, as the old adage goes, eloquence consists in feeling the truth and speaking it.

"I do not wonder that we are beginning to feel a pride in seeing ourselves lifted from a comparative state of insignificance into one of grandeur—in a few years surpassing in prosperity the greatest examples that the world affords. I say that with the advantage of the National Policy we have a future before us which may justly inspire the enthusiasm of every son of Canada. I believe that with wise and judicious statesmanship our success is completely assured. All the doubts I have had are swept away with the solving of this railway problem. Under these circumstances I congratulate you and my country in having passed from a position of commercial gloom into one of the brightest prospect."

Meetings held at Fredericton and Woodstock were as enthusiastic as the one in St. John. Of the one in Fredericton, the St. John *Sun* said that Sir Charles occupied over two hours and a half, spoke with even more force and eloquence than in St. John, and was frequently applauded. The meeting at Woodstock was held in the open air, and lasted four hours.

Sir Charles was obliged to decline a public dinner in Halifax as he had made arrangements for going to British Columbia. He had seen the wild prairies through the winter storms of 1869. He was now familiar with the cities and country of the entire east, but he had not yet looked upon the west of the Dominion washed by the Pacific Ocean.

In view of his age—he was then sixty—and the advantages of his past life, Sir Charles, when he went west in 1881 in the interests especially of the Canadian Pacific Railway, possessed the confidence of the Canadian public, and was perhaps for the first time regarded and accepted by both political parties as a distinguished personality and a great statesman.

Accompanied by a select party, Sir Charles left Montreal on August 8, 1881, for British Columbia. In this company were Lady Tupper, Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and Mr.

Jones, his secretary, Colonel Clarke and Mrs. Clarke, the Hon. McN. Parker, M.D., of Halifax, and Mr. Andrew Robertson, of Montreal. They went by rail through Chicago, St. Paul, Omaha, and thence by the Union and Central Pacific Railway to San Francisco, Salt Lake City being visited on the way. After two days at San Francisco, the party went by steamer to Portland, and thence by rail to Tacoma and Seattle. From this point they proceeded by steamer to Victoria. The reception given to Sir Charles at Victoria was significantly enthusiastic and demonstrative. He was tendered a banquet. This was followed by a large public meeting which he addressed on what, to all Canada but especially to British Columbia, was the burning question of the day—the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

No part of the Dominion had taken so keen an interest in this great national work as the people on the Pacific coast. They had made the building of this national highway within a limited time a condition of their entering the Union, and the knowledge that the originator, the promoter and the leader in the gigantic enterprise which was to fulfil their condition was now among them in the person of Sir Charles Tupper, called forth from the people a reception such as had never been given to any public man from the East. In a letter, the Hon. Dr. Parker said of his lifelong friend: "Tupper is king here."[1]

There was within sight in the immediate future a steel rail highway from Vancouver to Halifax—a future which Sir Charles, in his anxiety to save the people of the coast from another disappointment, fixed at 1891; but could he have known certainly that the road would be completed in five years' time, the people would have been even more intoxicated with enthusiasm.

The dockyard and graving dock, then in course of con-

[1] "The Ancestry and Memoirs of Daniel McNeil Parker, M.D.," by his son, William Frederick Parker, p. 349.

struction at Esquimalt, were examined, also the harbour, and thence the party embarked on board the Dominion steamer *Sir James Douglas* for Nanaimo, having in addition to their original party Mr. Trutch[1] and his secretary, Mr. Boville, Mr. Walkem, Attorney-General and the leader of the local Government, also Mr. Dunsmuir, the proprietor of the Nanaimo Coal Mine.

On reaching Nanaimo, the Hudson's Bay blockhouse was one of the objects of interest to the party, suggesting the past. Equally enthusiastic were the mayor and corporation at this place in presenting an address to Sir Charles. In his reply, he was able to tell them that the time was near at hand when, going to the east of the Dominion, it would not be necessary to make a roundabout journey by San Francisco and Chicago, as he had just done, but the highway of travel would be directly through the ranges of mountains and over the rich prairies.

Giant trees, giant mountains, and a majestic river draining the distant north and the distant east as it rushed onward to the sea, and a people who had just reached the end of a corroding disappointment and an exasperating delay, greeted Sir Charles Tupper on this, his first and memorable visit to British Columbia. The excitement, the exhilaration, the enthusiasm were not all with the people. The vision of a united British North America, continuously present with him for the last twenty years, for which he had laboured so hard, and which was now to him *fait accompli*, carried him, as well it might, to a pitch of enthusiasm never before felt in his political career. The assurance, now mutual, that resentful discontent had come to an end, and that future prosperity beckoned them on, gave to his orations a tumultuous fervour.

[1] Mr. Trutch was a civil engineer, sent out as a member of the Council, when British Columbia was a Crown Colony. He constructed the Trutch Road and was made Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia when that Province came into the Union, and afterwards acted as Sir Charles Tupper's agent in British Columbia, supervising the construction of the railroad from Kamloops to Yale.

By-Elections and a Visit to the West

From Nanaimo, Sir Charles went to Burrard Inlet, on the shore of which he selected the place for the terminal works of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The party landed at Raymuir's Mills, where they found timber from 80 to 120 feet long, and some of it measuring, at the butt, 8 feet in diameter. Only a few steps from the Raymuirs' house there was one tree 36 feet in circumference. The steamer came to anchor at Hastings Mills, the place where Vancouver City now stands. There they were met by coaches, which took the party, except Sir Charles, who rode, to New Westminster, a distance of nine miles. Twenty-seven years after this date, and at the same time of the year, on walking with Sir Charles through the business part of Vancouver in which a number of substantial buildings were in course of construction—a new post office, the Bank of Commerce, and a city building, all costing millions of dollars—Sir Charles said to the writer: "I well remember that when passing through the forest in 1881, about where we now stand, the luxuriant ferns growing under the great trees waved about my horse's head."

The glacier-capped mountains, blazing in the noonday sun, now look down upon a substantial city of over 150,000 inhabitants.

An address from the mayor and corporation of New Westminster, a torchlight procession, a band of music, speeches from Sir Charles, and ringing cheers marked the reception at this, as at all other points.

From New Westminster the party took a river steamer for Yale, 120 miles farther up the Fraser River, where the ladies were to stay at Mr. Onderdonk's, the railway contractor. From Yale the journey was to be continued in wagons over the celebrated Caribou Road.

On reaching Yale, Dr. Parker wrote:

"Mr. Onderdonk and the principal citizens of Yale came to the landing, a distance of eight miles, with an engine and flat car, fitted

up with seats cushioned and covered over with red cloth, and then we drove through to Yale, passing into and out of three hundred tunnels, one six hundred feet in length. The inevitable address was presented to Tupper, and amid much cheering we left the centre of the town and were landed at Mr. Onderdonk's door. Here four rooms were provided for Tupper, the Clarkes, Robertson and myself. Everything was on a grand scale for the locality, or rather, I should say, a most comfortable scale. We lived as if we were in New York. . . . At half-past one o'clock, luncheon being over, the famous Dufferin Coach was at the door, built after the fashion of the English mail coach, with a top that could be opened or closed at will. Robertson and Jones remained behind to follow us the next morning by an express. Mr. Onderdonk started with Tupper in his double-seated buckboard wagon and two horses. I took the box seat with Steve Lingley, the celebrated driver, over the four hundred miles of mountain road between Yale and Cariboo. The ladies, Schreiber, Marcus Smith and the Clarkes were inside. The coach was commodious and very easy, and was built especially to take Lord and Lady Dufferin to Kamloops over this, the most dangerous road in the world. A splendid team of four horses carried us along at a rattling rate over heights that would have made your blood curdle. Sometimes we were over a thousand feet above the river on a road barely wide enough to carry our carriage. I trembled lest the horses should shy or a bullock team should meet us. A string of pack mules could be readily passed if we saw them in time to choose our stopping place, but a bullock team is more formidable, as the brutes will crowd and push each other just at the moment of passing our horses and carriage. These difficulties were, however, overcome. At the suspension bridge over the Fraser, I got in with Onderdonk; and Tupper entered the carriage. . . . On arriving at 'Hell's Gate,' the narrowest part of the river, we saw marked on the mountain side of the road in red paint the height reached by the water in 1876. The river rose 140 feet, and covered portions of the road at least ten feet, stopping all travel, and rendering it necessary for the mules and passengers to take the high trail above the road on mules' backs. . . . On the opposite side of the river we could see the line of railway progressing, tunnels being driven by compressed air along the mountain heights, where it would seem impossible to make a road. Men were at work making a track above the river at dizzy and perpendicular heights. They were let down from the mountain tops on ladders with ropes attached above to trees; and every shot that was fired in blasting, rendered it necessary that the men should get out of the way by running up those ladders. Engineers made their measure-

ments and took their crossings, being let down in many places, by ropes from above. There they would perform their work, suspended, like Mahomet's coffin, between heaven and earth for hours and days. A break or slip of the rope and eternity was before them. One poor fellow, an engineer, while at work thus, fell down the precipice and was dashed to pieces. For many miles the road is a terrible undertaking; but it is progressing rapidly, and there are ninety miles now in course of construction and three thousand labourers at work. Mr. Onderdonk's contract costs the Government $8,000,000. He told me that he has now in plant, houses for men, shops and stores, horses, mules, and manufactories and gunpowder and dynamite factories, $1,000,000—all necessary to carry on the work. The Caribou Road, along which I have driven, is four hundred miles long and cost $1,500,000. Very many miles of it were built at a cost of $15,000 per mile. . . . We dined at the village of Lytton, at a point where the Thompson River forms a juncture with the Fraser. With fresh horses we took the bank of the former and passed away from the Fraser River, driving along through magnificent river and mountain scenery. The Fraser was muddy and yellow, but the Thompson was green, and its rapidly running current beautiful to look at. . . .

"At 7.30 o'clock we reached this place (Chase's Bridge). Onderdonk and I slept at one of his houses near the bridge where I had a splendid bed, with a rifle just over my head ready for action if the enemy had broken in upon me. Lady Tupper and Mrs. Clarke, with their husbands, spent the night at the McLeod's house, one of the engineers. Mrs. McLeod had written them to do so; and this morning they have not accompanied Tupper and Clarke, who have driven in to join us here, the six miles from McLeod's. They have decided to remain here and rest while we proceed on to Kamloops. . . . We had a very pleasant drive to this place—the juncture of the Thompson River with Kamloops Lake—over a rolling prairie, getting along rapidly, as the horses are in capital condition and very fast. . . . While changing horses, six miles from Cornwall's, another address was presented to Tupper and appropriately replied to."

At Kamloops came an address to Sir Charles and a suitable reply. Many from Kamloops accompanied the party on the steamer to the foot of the lake, where a ball was held in honour of Sir Charles.

The party returned to Victoria, and then by steamer to

San Francisco. This most laborious and exciting visit seems to have agreed with Sir Charles. At San Francisco he states in his journal that "during my absence of twenty days from that city I found that I had gained one pound in weight for each day."

On September 14 the Canadian Association of San Francisco gave Sir Charles an enthusiastic reception. He then returned to Ottawa, via Winnipeg.

At this stage, now three score years old, and a quarter of a century in public life, Sir Charles's great popularity had for its foundation something better than a mere windrush of popular applause let loose in a political crisis. In Nova Scotia there had been a period of unexampled prosperity in railway building, a foundation firmly laid for public education, and the victory over opponents of Confederation. In his labours in the Dominion there were the National Policy and the Canadian Pacific Railway, the solid corner stones of Canada's future prosperity and Imperial connection.

Sir Charles, doubtless, had an ordinary and legitimate craving for recognition and a relish for applause, but it never emasculated his purposes. Even when floating on the tide of public approval, as in British Columbia, it left his mind clear and his heart strong against all seductions to compromise either policy or principle.

There rang through the ovations in British Columbia the jubilant note of the shouts of those who "divided the spoils." The steel rails were threading their way east among the mountains, and west over the prairies, and would soon be a bond of union for every Province. The further vision was that the Provinces were one, and about to be launched on a career of unexampled prosperity. The whole country, from Halifax to Victoria, was now stirred with this great thought; but the loudest shouting reverberated among the mountains of British Columbia.

Following the visit of Sir Charles to the Pacific coast

was the opening of West Northumberland, in Ontario, by the resignation of Mr. Cockburn, a Conservative. In these circumstances, it became evident that Mr. Blake had not accepted the loss of the two elections in Nova Scotia as a sign of a general defeat. A few days before the election in West Northumberland, by selecting Coburg for another battle, Mr. Blake showed his hand in the political game. The gauntlet was defiantly thrown down. At no time in his life was Sir Charles in better spirits, in finer fettle, with his health perfectly restored, physical vigour at its best, and the ring of victory in all the shoutings from the Maritime Provinces to British Columbia. Sir Charles accepted the challenge publicly given by Mr. Blake in the arrangement to speak at Coburg just before the election was to take place. The eyes of the entire Dominion were upon this contest. The place was comparatively unimportant, and the pending battle was only a by-election, and that for but one year. Sir Charles Tupper was on the ground. His friends said, let there be a free and full discussion between the two leaders. Let Mr. Blake speak first, Sir Charles follow, and Mr. Blake close. That was refused. Sir Charles could have an hour, to be followed by Mr. Blake with unlimited time. This was the best that could be done.

Sir Charles knew that he was not speaking to an audience in Coburg alone. The whole Dominion was before him. The significance of the battle was fully realised. He knew his hearers. He knew his readers, all of whom were tensely expectant. The result would have much to do with the general election, only one year in the future. Speakers and hearers were keenly alive to these conditions.

After Sir Charles's address, Mr. Blake followed with a speech two hours and a half long.

The Toronto *Mail* of December 22 contained a full report of Sir Charles Tupper's speech, given the evening after Blake's meeting, in reply to that of Mr. Blake.

His own and Mr. Blake's tour of the Maritime Provinces, followed by his visit to British Columbia, had convinced Sir Charles that the Canadian Pacific Railway Syndicate bargain was safe. Being in good spirits and firm in his confidence that the Government would be abundantly sustained in the pending election, he was conditioned to "jolly Mr. Blake a bit." Mr. Blake's grand oration fell with chilling effect upon the people who, for an hour before its delivery, had been under the spell of a speech from Sir Charles, warm from his big heart and charged with the energy of his great personality. Had the results of the local and general elections been a matter of uncertainty, the assemblage would have got but little mirthful entertainment from Sir Charles.

The Conservative candidate was elected.

Among the letters received from Sir John A. Macdonald by Sir Charles when he was in England in the spring of 1881, was one which informed him that Mr. Blake was attempting to secure the support of the Ontario manufacturers, or, as Sir John put it, was "making his peace with them." Mr. Blake's Coburg speech confirmed Sir John's statement. At this time, three years had passed since the introduction of the National Policy. There had been an evident revival in manufacturing industries, and a largely increased revenue was the result. New capital had been invested, and statistics, gathered by a leading manufacturer of Coburg, proved that employment had been given to an increased number of men, and that this was going on year by year. Mr. Blake could not ignore these facts. As the meetings were held in a centre of manufacturing industry, he felt compelled to divulge his fiscal policy. Taxation for revenue tariff only had been the battle-cry of the Liberal leaders both in and out of Parliament. Under such a fire, the National Policy was introduced and carried. At the time of the Coburg meetings, the Toronto *Globe*, the oracle of the Liberal party, was fighting against Protection and demanding a change in

the existing tariff. But Mr. Blake's convictions compelled him to tell the manufacturers that their industries would be safe under Liberal rule. This was an attempt to enter a wedge which was persistently driven in until it at length produced a cleavage wider and wider between Mr. Blake and his party. Finally, it required two camps to accommodate them.

For exposed joints in the harness of an opponent, Sir Charles Tupper had the eye of an eagle. On listening to Mr. Blake's speech given at the first Coburg meeting, nothing could have been more pleasing to Sir Charles, as a tactician, than Mr. Blake's admission respecting the National Policy. It gave him a further supply of ammunition of the *argumentum ad hominem* kind, of which he was particularly fond and which he never failed to make serviceable and effective.

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